

EARLY ISLAMIC COINAGE IN NORTH INDIA
(800 A.D. TO 1500 A.D. and Its Impact in Tourism)

THESIS

Submitted to the M.S. University of Baroda
For the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
ALODWAN KHALIL SALEH

UNDER SUPERVISION OF
Prof. V.H. Sonwane

Department of Archeology and Ancient History
Faculty of Arts
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara 390 002
Gujarat

May 2004

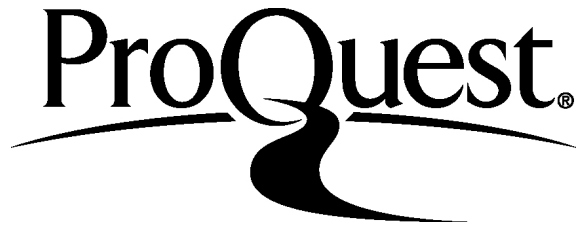
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This is to certify that this thesis entitled – Early Islamic Coinage in North India (800 A D to 1500 A D and its impact on Tourism) “incorporates the results of the original research work carried out by Mr Alodwan Khalil Saleh under my supervision The indebtedness to other work has been duly acknowledged at relevant places

Date 4th May 2004



V H Sonawane

Prof V H Sonawane

Guiding Teacher
**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
& ANCIENT HISTORY
M. S. UNIVERSITY, BARODA
VADODARA - 390 002.**

In
The Memory
Of
My Late

BELOVED

PARENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the very outset, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my research supervisor Prof. V.H. Sonawane, who guided me to his best capacities and stayed with me in each and every aspect of my work. I express my utmost respect and gratitude to him for being available to me at various stages of my thesis. To work under such comfortable and literate person is indeed a great privilege. Without his valuable guidance and constant support, the present study could not have been completed. I would also like to put in record my gratefulness to Dr. K.K. Bhan, Head Department of Archeology and Ancient History for the encouragement and moral support he gave. Prof. V.S. Parekh, Dr. (Mrs.) P.A. Ranjwani, Dr. Sushmita Sen, Dr. Saji Thomas, and all other teachers of the Department of Archeology deserve great appreciation and I feel obliged to them. I would like to express sincere thanks to H.E. Mr. Hisham Muhasin former Ambassador of Jordan, H.E. Mr. Nabil T. Talhoum, Ambassador of Jordan, New Delhi. Counselor Mr. Abdulkarem Zagab, First Secretary Mr. Awad Al Sarhan, first Secretary Ms Sawsan Abu Awad for their encouragement and moral support, my thanks are also due to the staff of the Embassy of Jordan, New Delhi.

I can not afford but to forget to express my everlasting to late P.L. Gupta, Mr. Amiteshwar Jha, Mr. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Danish Moin, Mr. Rehan Ahmed of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Study, Nasik for their constant encouragement during my research. I owe my thanks to Prof. Sayed Asaf Nagfi Chairman Dept. of Museology, Dr. Mohammed Nazir Al bari, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University. My thanks go to Dr.

University. My thanks go to Dr. P.K. Sharma (Registrar), Dr. Nasim Ahmed, National Museum, Nehru memorial museum and library New Delhi for their criticisms and direction during my research.

I would like to thank Hasan Al Qawasmeh, Raid Al Fageer, Faye al Ajalin, Atalah Al sardi, Mohammed Al Ali, Sayed Awad Mekki, and my cousin Dr. Ataf Al Odwan, for their moral support.

I am thankful to Ms. Rashmi Condra, Ms. Cordula Eitchler, Ms. Zamarrud Jahan and Her Family for unstinting cooperation and help.

I am especially thankful to H.E. Prof. Sultan Al-Odwan the Vice Chancellor of Irbid University, Jordan for his far distance encouragement.

Finally I would like to close this with a note of appreciation to my late beloved parents, my brothers; Emad, Ibrahim and my sisters for their moral support and encouragement and enduring my absence at India.

The responsibility for the errors remaining is mine alone.

AlOdwan Khalil Saleh

4th May 2004

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini (i.e. after the birth of Jesus Christ)
A.E.	Aeruginous (copper or bronze)
A.H.	After Hijrah (i.e. the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Makkah to Madinah on 16 July, 622 A.D.)
ANS	American Numismatic Society, New York.
AR	Argentum (Silver)
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
ASBC	Asiatic Society of Bengal Cabinet
AV	Aureus (Gold)
B	Billon (i.e., mixture of silver and copper or bronze)
BKB	Bangladesh Lalit Kala, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
Cat No.	Catalogue Number
CCI	The Copper Coins of India including Bangladesh, Burma, Nepal and Pakistan by W.H. Valentine, first published in 1914, reprinted (Inter-India Publications), New Delhi, 1983.
Cf.	Confer (compare)
Chron or Chronicles	The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, Reprinted (Munshi Ram Mahonharlal Oriental Publishers), Delhi, 1967.
CMI	Coins of Medieval India by Alexander Cunningham, first published in 1894, reprinted (Oriental Books Reprint Corporation), Delhi, 1967.
Coinage	The Sultanates of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology, by H.N. Wright, (Delhi Manager of Publications), Delhi, 1936, reprinted under the title Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli (Oriental Books Reprint Corporation), Delhi, 1974.
D	J.Deyell: living without silver, Delhi, 1990.
Denom or Denom. value	Denominational value Dis
Dist. Mark	Distinctive Mark
e.g.	exempli gralia (for example)

EI	Epigraphia Indica
EIM	Epigraphia Indo Muslemica
etc.	et cetra (and so forth)
fig. or figs	Figure / figures, i.e., serial number of photo of coins illustrated
GGB	Stan Goron J.P. Goenka. The coins of the Indian Sultanates New Delhi, 2001
HCIP	The History and Culture of the Indian People, edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.d. Pusalkar (bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Bombay.
HRN	H.R. Nevill collection, now in Delhi Museum.
i.e.	idest (that is)
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
ICB, i	The Initial Coinage of Bengal, pt. 1 by Edward Thomas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. II, pt. I
ICB, ii	The Initial Coinage of Bengal, pt. II by Edward Thomas (Trubner and Co.,) London, 1973.
IHC	Indian History Congress
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IIRNS	Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, Maharashtra
IMC	Indian Museum (Calcutta) Catalogue, vol. II, (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. II, by H. Nelson Wright, Oxford, 1907).
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicle, Patna, Bihar.
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (from....)
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (from...)
JASBD	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca (now Dhaka) from 1971 onwards)

JASP	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca (now Dhaka) from 1956 to)
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, Bihar.
JNSI	Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna, Bihar, from to ; Varanassi from onwards).
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
JVRM	Journal of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh.
KFM	Kaiser Fridrich Museum, Berlin
l	left
Lah. MC	Lahore Museum Catalogue, (Catalogue of the Coins Collected by Chas. J. Rodgers, and Purchased by the Government of the Panjab. Part II, Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins, Compiled by Chas. J. Rodgers, Calcutta, 1894, reprinted under the title Catalogue of the Coins (Miscellaneous Muhamamdan Coins), Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1985.
Lah.M	Lahore Museum
Luc. MC	Lucknow Museum
Luc.Mc.	Lucknow Museum Catalogue, (Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Delhi (in the Provincial Museum Lucknow), by Prayag Dayal, Allahabad, 1925).
LWK	Sale catalogue (Schulman-Amsterdam) of the Coins of Dr. L. White King, pt. III, 1905.
m.m.	Mint mark
mm	millimeter(s)
NA	Not Available
NC (or Num. Chron.)	The Numismatic Chronicles (A journal of the Royal Numismatic Society), London.
NC	Not clear
ND	Numismatic Digest (A Journal of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, Maharashtra, India).
No	Number

NPP	Nagari Pracharani Patrika, Varansi, India
NR	Not recorded i.e., Not written
NS	Numismatic Supplement (to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta), or New Series of JASB.
NSI	Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, India
NW	H. Nelson Wright: The Coinage and Metrology of the sultans of Dehli 1936 (reprinted, New Delhi, 1974).
Obv.	Obverse i.e., the beginning side or face of a coin or medal.
p.	page
Pl.	Plate i.e. plate of photos of coins illustrated
PM	Patna Museum
pp	pages
Pt.	Part
PWM	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
R	D. Rajgor; standard catalogue of Sultanate coins of India, Bombay.
R.Y.	Regnal year
Ref.	Reference
Rev.	Reverse i.e., opposite side or face of the obverse of a coin or medal.
SA	Stephen album con of South uist 1995
Sg.	Square
SI	Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., USA
SK	Spink-Taisei coin auction catalogue of the Skanda collection of Indian Gold Coins, Singapore
Sl. No.	Serial Number
Sym.	Symbol
T	R & M. Tyei jitals, Isle of South uist 1995
Th.Coll Or th. Collection	Thomas' collection (of coins)
TM	Tajul M'asir by Hasan Nizami

TN	Tabaqat-I-Nasiri by Minhaj
Translit.	Transliteration
V	W. H. Valentine. copper coins of India part I and II, London, 1914 (reprinted 1971)
V.S.	Vikram Samvat
Viz.	Videlicet (namely)
Vol. or Vols.	Volume or Volumes
Wt.	Weight

SYNOPSIS

[The research presented here is an attempt to understand the origin and development of Islamic coins from 800 AD to 1500 AD of northern India. The coinage of the period is a primary source for helping us to understand the political and economic history of the region under study. The right of *sikka* i.e., the right to issue coins was one of the legally recognized expressions of the ruler. Coins of this period bear information not only about the ruler's names and titles but very often also the place and date of minting. This helps us to the progress of learn about those rulers who are otherwise not known to history because of their short reigns not recorded in any literary sources that have come down to us. In my research, I have tried to examine the metals used for currency, treatment of the coins during minting, its fineness or debasement and seek to draw conclusions from that. The coins of the above mentioned period occupies an important place in field of Indian numismatics. Their designs, variety of denomination, and beautiful calligraphy attract the attention of numismatists.

In many aspects these coins are different from the coins minted and circulated in ancient Indian period, such as the legend of the coins are in Arabic and Persian and most of the coins in the period of my research bearing the name of mint's city. The figures of king of obverse and god or goddess on reverse are not reported here because it was prohibited in Islamic teaching.

Unfortunately numismatics or the historians had not given the proper attentions to the coins of this age which they deserved. The authentic published works which are available to us in the subject are written in pre-independence Era by various scholars such as Stanley Lane Poole (London, 1885), Eugene Leggett (London, 1885), Prayag Dayal (Delhi, 1936) and post-Independence Era by other scholars like D.B. Hull (California, 1972), P. L. Gupta (Varanasi, 1979), P. O. Kulkarni (Varanasi, 1991), P. K. Mitra and S. Sinha (New Delhi, 1997), and P. T. Nasir (Karachi, 1997). These works were basically written in the form of catalogues and inventories. Therefore, one hardly finds any attempt in them for proper study and interpretations of the coins. After this many new information have come up from the newly discovered coins and manuscripts. The most remarkable discovery in this period was that *Dravya Pariksha* of Thakkar Pheru, the mint-master of Khalji Sultans. This treatise provided us with much new and authentic information which necessitated the revision of many earlier opinion propounded by above noted scholars. So, there is need to re-write of the history of these coins in light of new available coins with the co-relation of con-temporary literary sources which I have to do so. Having the background of Arabic as a mother tongue and well acquainted with the Persian language, it is easy for me to read the Persian texts and deciphered the legend of these coins in better way about their significance and motives of the rulers, who issued these coins.

Objectives :

The primary aims of my thesis are to present a detailed and vivid picture of Islamic coinage of Northern India. I have tried to highlight main features of Muslim coinage from the study area mainly dealing with their fabric, metallurgy, symbology, legend, dates etc.

The objectives of my research area as follows:

1. To track out the origin and development of Islamic coins.
2. To evaluate the impact of Islam on coins.
3. To construct the political history of Northern India on the basis of coins.
4. To trace the economic development of the region based on coins study.
5. To identify coins in literary text.
6. To typologically classify the coins.
7. Relations of coins and museum, their impact on tourism.
8. To see the impact of coins in the development of tourism.

A questionnaire was prepared on the basis of which I have tried to know the percentage of foreign tourist who would like to see coins displayed in museums.

General Outline of the Thesis:**Chapter I: The Ghaurid Indian Coinage and Its Metrology**

This chapter includes the introduction with history of coins in India. It has been divided in three sub-chapters which deal with political conquest of Ghauris, their coinage, technique, mints, metal and metrology.

Chapter II: Coinage of the Turks

This chapter further divided in three sub-chapters. It deals with the establishment of Delhi Sultanate and coins issued by three earlier rulers such as Qutabuddin Aibak, Aram Shah and shamsuddin Iltutmish

Chapter III: Coinage and Metrology of the Successors of Iltutmish

Iltutmish

This chapter is dealing with the political history and coinage of the successor of Iltutmish till 1292 AD. It also deals with the currency reform and trends in the legend of these coins.

Chapter IV: Coinage and metrology and the Khaljis

This chapter examines the coins issued by the Khaljis ruler's right from Jalaludin fairuz Khalji 1290 A D. The chapter deals with the political, historical background and coinage of Khaljis and their mints, metal and metrology

Chapter V: Coinage and Metrology of the Tughlaq

This chapter examines the coins issued by the Tughlaq's ruler's right from Ghyasuddin Tughlaq. It deals with token reform made by the Muhamamd bin Tughlaq and change in the content and metal of coins. This is the evidence about the use of bronze for minting the coins by any Muslims rulers in India

Chapter VI: Coinage and Metrology of Sayyieds and Lodis

This chapter is dedicated to Sayyieds and Lodis came to control Delhi. They ruled about a century. The coins to these two dynasties are not many, and are discussed together in this chapter with full details. They would not make any major changes in metals and metrology of early Sultans.

Chapter VII: Impact of Coins on Tourism

In this chapter I have tried to see the relations between coins and museums. On the basis of questionnaire I have tried to know how many percentage of foreign tourists are interested to visit to the museums to see the coins and which type of role coins are playing in the development of tourism in India.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The thesis ends with a discussion, conclusion and the new finds of my research.

Catalogue of the coins, related coin-names mentioned in the *Dravya Parksha* and their identification, Genealogical and chronological table of Sultans of Delhi on the basis of coins, chronological table of the Khalifahs of Islam, description of coins, mints and typological classification of coins, are included in the appendix.

STATEMENT – I

(Statement showing the particulars, on which the work is based, the discovery of new facts of new relationship between facts observed by

others and how the works tend to help in the general advancement of knowledge).

This work is based on extensive fieldworks conducted from 1999-2002 and intensive study carried out on the thesis coins kept in different museum located at Vadodara, Mumbai, Delhi etc , such as Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery (Vadodra), Prince of Wales Museum (Mumbai), and National Museum (New Delhi). To understand the nature and significance of Indian coins in particular I have participated in the twenty days workshop on practical guidance of coins held at Nasik, conducted by Indian Institute of Research in Numismatics Study (IIRNS). Later, I visited Nasik thrice for the collection of research materials

The present study is an attempt to examine the newly available coins in the light of contemporary evidence on various aspects such as fabric, metallurgy, symbology, legends, date, name of mints etc

The thesis thus makes original contributions to the study in several ways.

1. It is the general impression that Muhammad bin Sam's *Laqab* (title) was "Shahabuddin" It is hardly realized that he had also the *Laqab* (title) of "Muizuddin". The fact is that he was never known by the title of "Shihabuddin" in the context of Indian history. Much before his entry into India his brother bestowed upon this later *Laqab* (i.e , Muizuddin) replacing the previous one (i.e , Shihabuddin). Since then this title was associated with him all his death in 1206 AD. This fact has a great bearing on the history which is not realized so far.

2. When Muhammad bin Sam entered into Peshwar he considered himself as the subordinate to his brother. This fact is borne out from a few coins issued from the place which bear the name of the Ghiyasuddin Muhammad bin Sam.
3. Conflicting opinions were being expressed about the date of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar's conquest of Gauda (Bengal) such as 1194, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1202, 1203 and 1204 A D are the dates suggested by different modern scholars. It is only through coins one can set to rest this long drawn controversy and produce a precise date (Ramazan 610 A.H./1205 AD) for his conquest of Gauda. The discovery of coins, commemorating the conquest of Bengal, corroborates the statement of Minhaj that Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji had issued coins, which so far was being disbelieved as coins were not available then.
4. It was so far believed that Iwaz from the very beginning was an independent ruler of Bengal and was not a vassal of Delhi Sultan Iltutmish. Now it is confirmed by the reading of "bi-Guada" on the coins which were issued from Bengal during 614 and 616 A.H. when Iwaz was governor there. These coins, therefore, proved that Iwaz had accepted the subordination of Delhi Sultan Iltutmish in the early part of his reign.
5. In the period of Raziyah we have evidenced that her coins were issued from Lakhnauti (Bengal) which had been stopped during her predecessor Rukh uddin Firuz. These Bengal coins of Raziyah,

confirms Minhaj's statement that she brought all the territories from Lakhnauti (Bengal) to Debal under her control

- 6 We have come to know only from the coins that an attempt was made by one Shams uddin Muhmud to assert himself as the Sultan of Delhi in 1318 A.D. when Mubarak Khalji was away to Deogir. No mention of this event is recorded by any chroniclers
7. After the decline of Tughlaq dynasty Sayyids dynasty was established in 1414 AD Khizr, its founder issued coins in his name, but the name of Tughlaq Sultan. Later the grandson of Khizr, Farid coins carries the name of his grandfather along with his own name and that of his father
8. Bahlol Lodi (1451-89 A.D.) the founder of Lodi dynasty discontinued coins in gold and silver, but billon and copper coins were issued in plenty
9. Regarding the silver and gold *tankahs* of the Sultans of Delhi, Thomas was the opinion that they were struck to a standard weight of 100 *ratīs*. So he converted the weight standard of these coins in grains troy at 175 grains taking 1 75 grains for a *rati*. H.N. Wright and H R Nevill on the other hand fixed the weight standard at 96 *ratīs* and converted it into 172 8 grains troy taking 1.8 grains for a *rati*. These scholars have only theorized it and did not take pains to consider the actual weight of the coins. The known weight of the *tankah / rupaya* coins of the Khalji rulers does not go beyond 170.3 grains troy and their lower limit is 165 grains. Almost of the same appears the weight of tankahs of Turkish Sultans who issued the coins of this denomination first. As such it may well be

said that the weight standard was confined in the proximity of 168-170 grains (10.90 to 11.04 grammes).

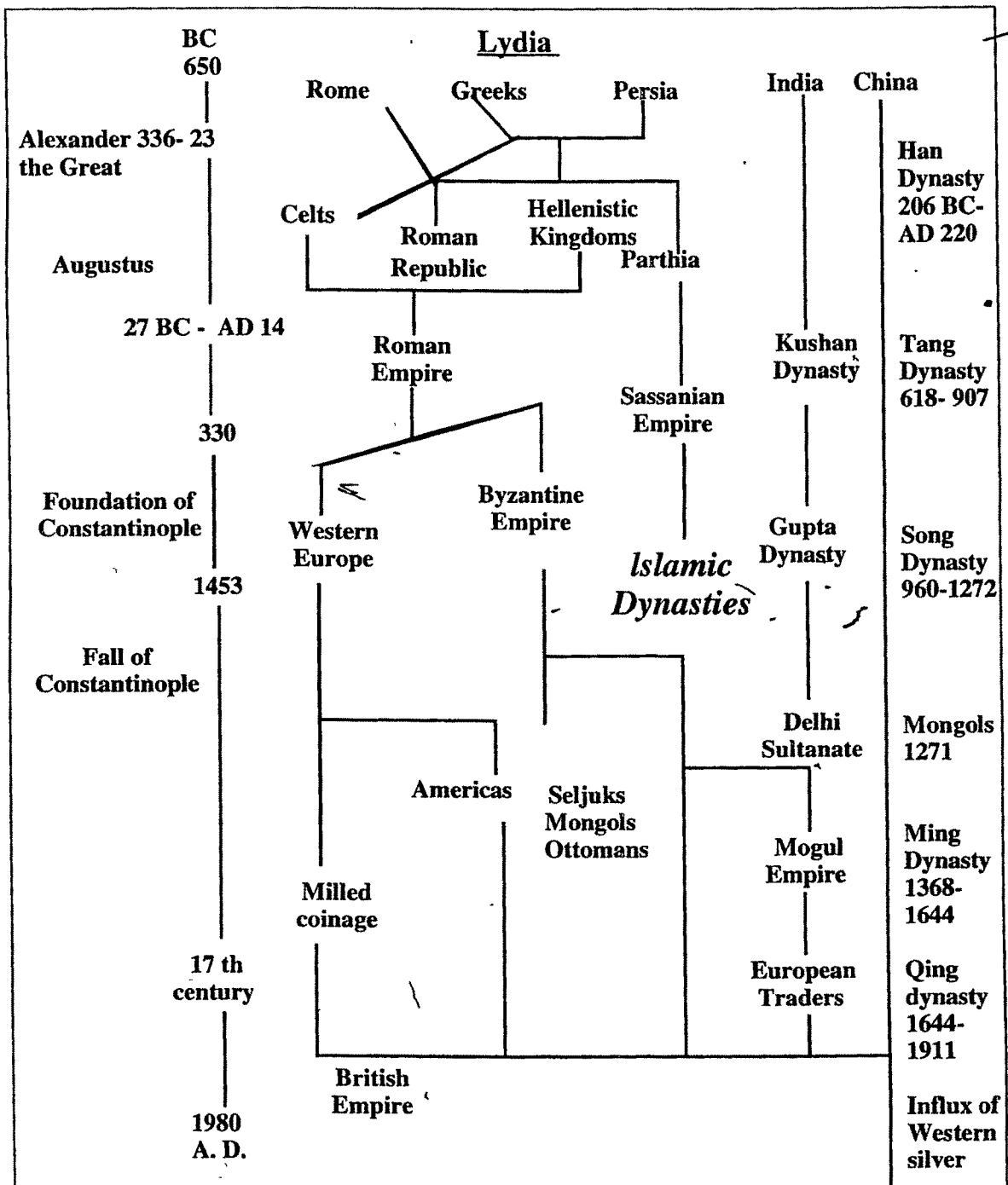
- 10 On the basis of questionnaire I have tried to know about what percentage of foreign tourists would like to see the coins and why, and its impact on the development of tourism.

STATEMENT – II

(Statement indicating the sources of information and the extent to which the thesis is based on the work of others and portions of the thesis claimed as original)

The main sources for this study are based research materials collected from different libraries such as library of Gujarat University, Jamia Millia Islamia (New Delhi), Aligarh Muslim University (Aligarh), Archaeological Survey of India, (New Delhi), Rajasthan Museum (Jaipur), Bombay University (Mumbai) and Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Study (Nasik). Jawaharlal Nehru University Library (New Delhi).

Trends in Coinage



A simplified diagram showing the parallel chronology and the main streams of coinage according to Porteous 1980 : 11.

CHAPTER – I

THE GHURID INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS METROLOGY

1. Introduction

India is a vast diverse country and has its own history and traditions. Indian coins are of gold, silver and copper similar to western coins, but are usually heavier and thicker, and less perfectly rounded.¹

The coins of India and most of those of Southeast Asia form a distinct field in the numismatic world as they differ in appearance from those of Europe and China. They also differ from the coins issued by the Muslims of Bilgad Al-Sham and Iraq.

Like those of other primitive societies, Indian coinage was a great variety of primitive currencies, such as cowries and cattle. In the early period, gold was measured by the weight of rati" (.0.12 grammes)

[From the sixth of the fourth century B.C. the earliest coins circulated in the north-west provinces of India.] They are known as punch-marked coins.] These coins were small bent bars of silver weighing about 3.5 grammes and were stamped on both ends with separate punches. The punches were used to built up coin designs. The earliest coins seem to be oval and stamped by four round punches with symbolic design.

The Mauryan Empire

[By about 300 B.C. the Mauryans who had gradually assumed control over whole of Indian subcontinent except extreme South, struck their own symbolic coins. The absence of legend on these coins leaves us in ignorance of the identity of the issuer.] Different symbols were used such as animals, plants, fish and other representation of mountains or the sun. these symbols seems to mark the dynasty ruler mint and perhaps the

issue and moneyer. Mauryan coins are also found in neighbouring countries.

The Greek Influence

The invasion of Alexander the Great brought coinage with Greek designs and legends into north India and Bactria. The coins showed little sign of Indian influence except for an occasional square type and the representation of Indian deities. These coins are bilingual, bearing Indian translations of the Greek legend. The decentralization of power in northern India took place in the second century B.C. with the collapse of the Mauryan Empire. By the first century, tribal states began to issue their own coins which were mostly in copper with a few silver issues. The legends were mostly inscribed in Brahmi script.

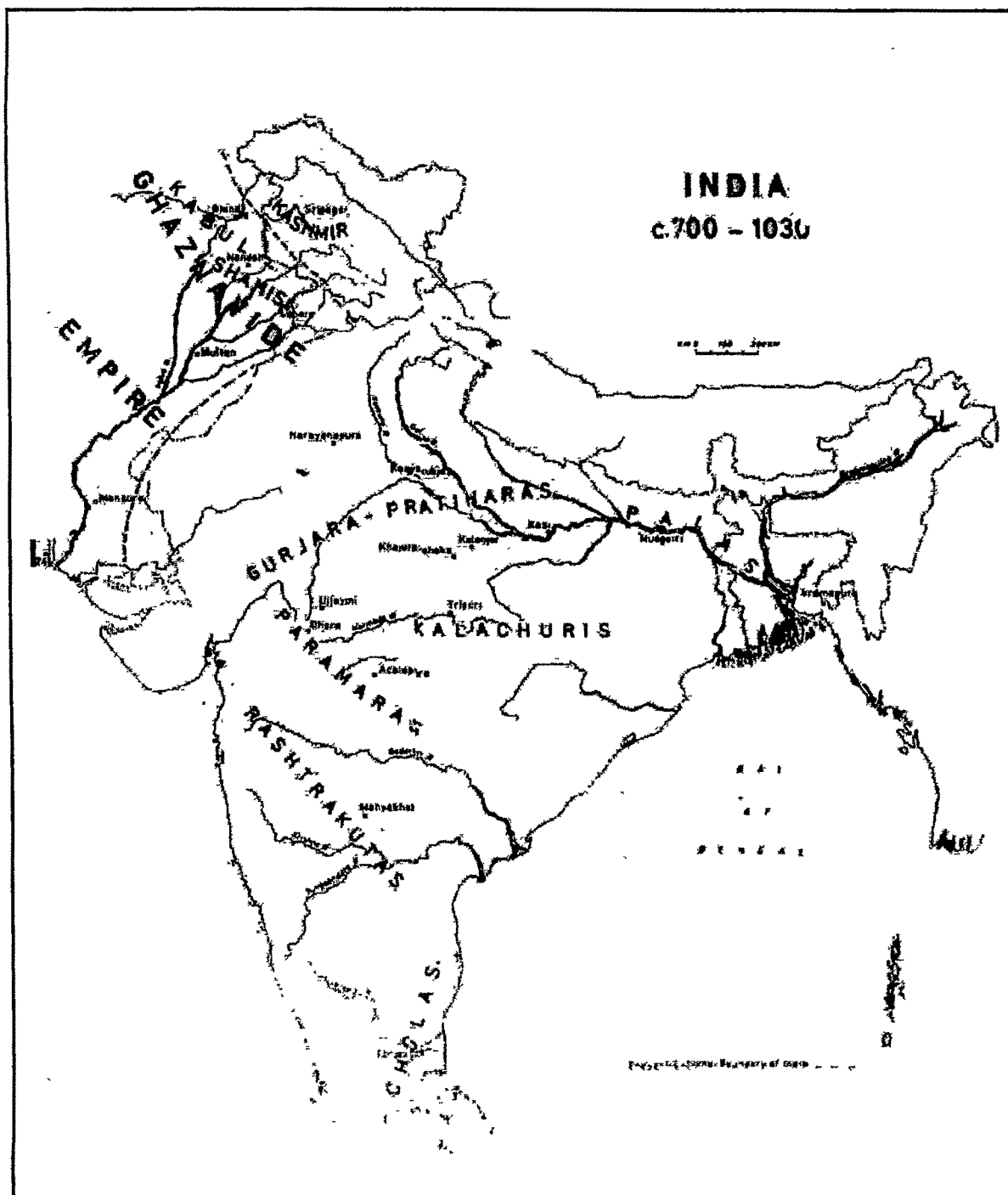
The Greek technique of striking coins between two engraved dies was copied and widely spread, replacing both punch-making and casting methods. The earliest coins produced in North India by dies were the *drachmas* of Sophytes (Saubhuti) c.300 B.C.

South Indian Kingdoms

Kingdoms of southern India issued distinguished coinage whose pattern remained unchanged upto ninth century A.D. Several silver types were influenced by Greek coins. Other coins were made of lead. The Satvahana kings struck lead coins bearing symbolic signs, such as the elephant, lion and bull, which all had religious significances.

Roman influence

Central and southern India were not subjected to foreign invasion and their coinage developed under more favourable conditions. During the first century A.D., central and southern India maintained direct trade relations with the Roman empire. Roman gold was imported into India mostly in exchange for Chinese silk, spices, cotton and gemstones. The kingdoms of central and southern India imitated the Roman gold coins the



"aurei" , and the silver coins, the "denari". Later, they produced their own picturesque coins.

The Kushans

The Kushans, central Asian invaders, established their Kingdom in north-west India and part of north India and ruled between the first century A.D. to the third century A.D., The Kushan coins depicted on the obverse the portrait of the Kushan king in full figure sacrificing at an altar or on some issues seated on a throne. The reverse always showed a god or a goddess. The Kushan Kings were the first to strike gold coins in India and inscribed their coins in Kushan language but written in Greek script.

The Gupta kingdom

The Gupta kings established their kingdom in the third century A.D. These kings the first native dynasty of unite northern India since the down fall of the Mauryans. Their empire extend from the Indus river to the Ganges and endured about three centuries. During this period the Hindu civilization reached its greatest cultural achievements. The Gupta Kings modified the designs of the Kushan coins with great elegance and followed the Kushan practice of stamping coins with the portrait of the king and a divinity on the reverse. The inscription on both sides were written in Brahmi script. The Gupta Kings struck beautiful coins of gold along with silver and bronze. Their coins bear the Hindu divinities such as "*Lakshmi*" the goddess of wealth, usually enthroned, often holding a lotus flower. Other coins bear the warrior god, "*Karttikeya*," and "*Shiva*" the destructive, riding his bull.

The White Huns

The White Huns, nomadic from Central Asia, arrived in India during the fifth to seventh centuries and captured territory from the Guptas. The Huns had no indigenous coinage and no monetary traditions. They tended to imitate the coins of the people they conquered. In India they imitated the Kushan coins and the coins of the Sassanians.

Islamic Invasion and the Sultanate of Delhi

In the eleventh century, Mahmud Gazanavid (998-1030) A.D. ruler of Afghanistan, invaded India and established his rule in northwestern India. Muhmud brought Islamic types of coins in India similar to types already used in Afghanistan. On some of his issues he inscribed the proclamation of the Islamic faith.

A great change in coinage happened when Muhammad bin Sam (1187-1206) A.D. established the Gharid Muslim dynasty and ruled all over north India, founding the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 AD). This territory eventually was extended to central to South India.

Because Muslim traditions were directed against making graven images, the coinage bore on both sides, only religious legend. These coins were finely designed with beautiful calligraphy and mostly inscribed in Arabic, Sanskrit was rarely used. The proclamation of faith formed a prominent part of the coin legend. The name and title of the sultan, the mint name and dates are recorded according to the Muslin era.

The issued coins during that period were the gold *dinara*, silver 'adili', and billon *tankah* in addition to copper pieces.

The Kingdoms of Vijayanagar

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar (City of Victory) had been founded in Southern India in 1336 AD by Harihara. This kingdom produced thick gold *pagodas* and *half-pagodas* inscribed in the local language and bearing Hind deities such as *Shiva* with his consort *Pravati*, the beautiful Lakshmi and "Preserver". Vishnu, who with *Brahma*, the "Creator", and *Shiva* the "Destroyer" constitutes a Hindi triad.

The Mongols

In 1525 A.D. prince Babur of Central Asia who claimed both Mongol and Turkish descent invaded India. He and his son Humayun overthrew the Delhi Sultan, Ibrahim, and ruled northern India until Humayan was driven out in 1542 AD by new conquers arriving from

Afghanistan. The Sultan Sher Shah Suri introduced a new heavy silver coin, the *rupiya* which weighed at that time 11.5 grams, and the copper dam of 21 gram. These denomination became the standard coins of the country for a very long period. The *rupiya* survives of this date as the basic monetary unit of the Indian Republic, although its value has diminished.

In 1556 AD Akbar the son of Humayun achieved what his grandfather and father and failed to do by establishing a new Muslim Mongol dynasty to rule India.

During his rule (1556-1605 AD), he struck gold and silver square coins called *mohurs* and *rupees*. As a tolerant ruler he ordered the "*Shahada*" to be omitted from the Mongol coins and replaced in by a new a legend: "*Allah akbar Jalla jalalaho*" (God is most great eminent in his glory"). It is worth to mention that the word Akbar (most great eminent) was a play on his own name.

Jahangir (1605-1627), the son of Akbar, a lover of the arts had struck coins distinguished by their elegant calligraphy. He resorted "*al-Shahada*" to his coinage and issued gold coins bearing the signs of the zodiac. Jahangir struck *mohurs* bearing portrait of his father Akbar, and half *mohurs* with animal figures. He also minted half-mohurs with the figures of Rama and Sita.

Modern India

India's transition to "modern" coinage was a complicated process because various colonial powers such as the English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese had all settled in India. Each colonial power issued European type coins in their respective territories. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a strange mixture of European and native denominations and type circulating throughout India. New mechanical methods for striking coins were introduced by British East Indian company.

The British East India Company produced and guaranteed its own coins. From 1835 until the trading monopoly of the E.I.C. was abolished in 1858 and its property and powers were transferred to the British Crown.

1.1 Historical Background

India, a rich country in culture and wealth, had been a place of attraction for the foreign invaders since long past. The Sassanians, the Greeks, the Hunas, the Sakas and the Partians invaded it successively. They occupied the north-western part of this country and ruled it for a quite considerable period. After them came the Muslims. They conquered its territories one after another and ultimately brought the whole of country under their sway. Their rule continued for a long period till 1858 when it passed into the hands of the British.

[The history of Muslim conquest of India may be divided into three phases with long intervals in between. The first phase was initiated by 'Imad Uddin Muhamamd bin Qasim who conquered Sindh² and Multan in 93. A.H. 712 A.D.³ and 94 A.H./ 713 A.D. respectively and annexed them to the Muslim empire of Arabia. Then the second phase of the conquest started which was undertaken by the *Ghaznavi* (also called the Yaminid) ruler Sultan Mahmud (999-1030 A.D.)⁴ He had seventeen expeditions⁵ towards this country between 1000 and 1030 AD and penetrated into it as far as Gujarat to the south-west and Banaras to the east, but he remained satisfied with the annexation of Punjab only which he conquered in 1021 AD. After Muhamud there was again an interval of about two hundred years. Then the third phase of the conquest took place in the last quarter of eleventh century AD. This time came the Ghauris.]

The conquests made during the above first two phases had little bearing on India history as Sindh and Punjab, conquered during these phases, situated at the out-skirt of the country and they were not empires but small principalities. [The Guauris were the first Muslim rulers who conquered a large area of northern India and laid the foundation of Muslim

rule in this subcontinent on a permanent footing. They are, therefore, regarded as the real founder of the Muslim empire in India.]

1.1.1 The Ghauri Dynasty

Ghauri is the title 'a family' as well as 'dynasty' of Afghanistan which ruled from 725 AD to 1215 AD.* The title was derived from a place called "*Ghar*", a mountainous region, situated to the east of Hirat where one Shansab, the ancestor of the family had settled⁶ in the second quarter of the seventh century AD. It is stated that he was familiar with Hazrat Ali (656-661 AD), the fourth Khalifah of Islam. His son Fulad was destined to carve out a principality there in about 725 A.D. and thereby established a dynasty which, later on, came to be known as 'Ghauri'. The dynasty, is also called "the Shansabani"⁷ after its progenitor 'Shansab'.

Fulad, the founder of this dynasty, was a farsighted man. When Abu Muslim of Khurasan started the Abbasid movement against the Umayyad Khilafat in Arabia he assisted him⁸ and thereby, came in close contact with the Abbasids who, on their ascendancy, favoured him to built up his power in Afghanistan. After Fulad's death his successors flourished and expanded the Kingdom in all the four directions. They retained their suzerainty with some ups and down in between until Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.), the Yaminid ruler of Ghazni, invaded it in 400 AH/1009 AD and made it a tributary.⁹ After Mahmud, it continued and remain as a subordinate kingdom to the Yaminid/Ghaznavid kings till the time of Bahram Shah (1118-1152 AD) during his period the Ghaurid ruler Saifuddin severed relation with the Yaminids and became independent. He even attacked Ghazni, the Yaminid capital, to revenge the murder of his elder brother, Qutb Uddin, whom Barham had slain.¹⁰ He occupied the town and forced Bahram to flee to Lahore. In the following winter Bahram returned back, killed Saif uddin and recovered his lost capital Ghazni.¹¹

Saif uddin was succeeded by his brother, Baha uddin Sam, the father of Ghaiyas uddins and Mu'iz uddin. Like his predecessors, Baha

* The dynasty came to an end in

uddin also continued their hereditary fight with the Yaminids. While he was marching towards Ghazni he fell sick and died on the way in 544 AH/1150 AD. After him his brother Alau uddin ascended the throne of Ghaur. On his accession he imprisoned his two nephews, i.e, Ghiyas uddin Mu'iz uddin, the sons of threat to his power their partisans. It is said that these two princes were born sometimes during 1130's AD with the gap of slightly more than three years in between. They both were given the same name (ism) Muhamamd at birth but their mother nicknamed them 'Habshi" and 'Zangi" respectively. On coming a age probably in the 1150's AD, the elder of two brothers was given the *laqab* Shams uddin' and the younger. 'Shahab uddin' by their uncle Sultan Ala uddin Hussain.

Following the hereditary hostility with the Yaminid rulers Sultan Ala uddin, Hussain invaded Gazni in 550 A.H./ 1155 AD. He occupied the city and put it to fire so the people nicknamed him "Jahansoz' or 'the world burner'. Ala uddin Hussain could not retain Ghazni for long. After a short while it was conquered by Ghauri Turks. Ala uddin Hussain died in 556 A.H. / 1161 AD and was succeeded by his son Saif uddin Muhmmad.

The young Sultan Saif uddin Muhmmad took pity on his cousins. He released them from their twelve years confinement and appointed them on high posts. The elder Sham uddin was called to attend the Sultan at this court while the younger Shahab uddin was called to attend the Sultan at this court while the younger Shibah uddin was posted with his paternal uncle, the Sultan of Bamina. On Saif uddin's death in 558 AH/1163 AD. the *Amirs* and *Maliks* placed Shams uddin on the throne of Ghaur. After his accession he changed his former *laqab* (title) of "Sham uddin" for "Ghiyas uddin". On receving the news of Ghiyas uddin's accession, the younger brother Shihab uddin came back to Firuzkuh, the Ghaurid capital. Ghiyas uddin received him warmly and appointed him to the office of Sar-i-Jandar (Chief armour bearer). Shaihab uddin was not satisfied with his lower post. After one year he being despair of getting a higher post, deserted his brother. He went to Sijistan and attended the court of one his

relatives. Malik Shams uddin. Now Ghiyas uddin came to sense. He realizes his unfavourably behaviour toward his younger brother. He tried to pacify him and brought him back to his court.

1.1.2 Mu'iz Uddin Muhmmmad bin Sam alias Muhamamd Ghuri

On Shihab uddin's return from Sijistan to Firuzkuh, Ghiyas uddin bestowed upon him the governorship of Istiah and Kanjuran and permitted him to issue coins in his name.¹² Meanwhile Shihab uddin displayed his chivalry in certain military action in Khurasan. In recognition to that, Ghiyas uddin awarded him a new *laqab* (title) of 'Muiz uddin' replacing that of "Shihab uddin". This new *laqab* he retained till his last day. In 569 A H /1173 A.D., Ghazini was conquered from the ghauri Turks and Mui'z uddin was transferred its governor. He was now permitted to use permitted to use the title of 'Al Sultan's of coins. It was during this time that Mui'z Muddin directed his expeditions towards India.

1.1.3 Northern India on the eve of Ghurid Invasion

On the eve Ghauri invasion northern India was divided into many small kingdoms and there was no unity among them. The important kingdoms of this period here were Sindh and Multan in the north west, Kashmir in the north, to its South was Punjab, in the central part were Delhi and Ajmer, on the west side was Gujarat, on the south Gwalior and Jejakbhukti (Bundelkhand), on the east Kanauj, Badaun, Bihar and Bengal.

Sindh and Multan

Sindh and Multan were two independent Muslim amirates (principalities) before the Ghaurid invasion of India. As to their early history, it is known that before their Muslim occupation in 712 AD and 713 AD, respectively, they had been united and formed one kingdom known as Sindh which was ruled a Hindu king named dahir. His capital was at Alor.¹³ It was during the Umyyad Khalifah Al-Walid I (705-715 AD) that his general Imad uddin Muhamamd bin Qasim conquered it in 712 AD and annexed it to the Muslim Khilfat (empire) of Arabia. The early Umyyad

Khalifahs made it a part of the province of Iraq and ruled it through a deputy governor under the control of the Iraqi viceroy. During the time of the later Ummayyad Khalifahs, it was made a separate province under an amir (governor). This system was continued till 871 A.D. when the seventeenth Abbasid Khalifah Al-Mu taimed Allalah (870-892 AD) handed it over to Y'aqab bin Lais al-Suffar, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty (872-903 AD) in Perisa. After the fall of the Saffarids, the Samanids of Bukhara came into power in 904 AD Sind automatically went into their hands.

From the very beginning to its Muslim occupation, Sindh had always been a troublesome area. Its *amirs* (governors) superficially showed allegiance to their masters but practically enjoyed independence in their internal affairs. With a view to having effective control over the administration of this area, the Samanids divided it into two provinces which ultimately facilitated to create two independent Muslim principalities, one in the other in the north with its headquarters at Multan.¹⁴ Before the Ghaurid invasion Sumra *amirs* were ruling over Sindh and the Qaramathian amirs over Multan.¹⁵ The names of the amirs of these two principalities, contemporaries of Muiz uddin Muhammad Ghauri, are not known.

Gujarat

Gujarat was the kingdom of the Chalukyas. By the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. they had firmly established their authority over there.¹⁶ It was the strongest state of western India comprising Gujarat, Saurashtra, Malwa, Abu, Nadola dn Konkan. Anhillapatka (modern Anhilwara) was the capital. Mularaja II (1176-1178 AD) and Bhima II (1178-1239 A.D.) were the two successive Chalukya rulers of the kingdom who were contemporaries of Muhammad Ghauri.

Kashmir

In the third quarter of the twelfth century AD Kashmir was being ruled by the kings of the second Lahora dynasty (1101-1172 AD) founded by Uchachla (1101-1111 AD). Then the people elected one Vuppdeva as their king. He was succeeded by his brother Jassaka in 1181 A.D. and the latter by his son Jagadeva in 1199 AD. After the death of Jagadeva in 1213 AD the descendants of this family were ruling over there.

Punjab

Punjab including Peshwar with its centre at Lahore was a kingdom of a Muslim dynasty called the Yaminid (or the Gaznavid). This dynasty was established at Ghazni in Afghanistan by Alpatagin* in 962 AD. The seventh ruler of this dynasty Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 AD) ousted the Shahi kings from the Punjab and conquered it. He made it a province of his own kingdom which was administered by a governor. This system continued till the time of Bahram Shah (1118-1152 AD), the twentieth Sultan. During his rule Ghazni was lost to the Ghaurid Sultan Ala uddin Husain Jahansoz in 550 AH/1155 AD and later it was occupied by the Ghuzz Turks. Bahram fled to Lahore and started to rule only the Punjab. After him his successors continued to rule there till the invasion of Muhammad Ghauri. The last ruler of this dynasty was Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD).

Delhi and Aimer

Delhi and Amjer at the time formed the Kingdom of the Chauhans (or the Chahamanas).* This dynasty was founded by Vasudeva about the middle of the seventh century AD in the regions around the lake

* He was originally a Turkish slave at Abdul Malik, the fifth Samanid King of Bukhara, who appointed him first as Hajib ul-Hujab (Head of the body-guard) and then a Governor of Khurasana in 956 AD.

* The Chahamanas or Chauhan was a branch of the Rajput caste of the Hindus. According to their bardic tradition they were 'agni-kula' or (fire-born) races. They are called "Chauhan" after the Title because he sprang up from the fire altar at the sage Vasisthan on Mount Abu and was quadriform (Chaturanga) whence his name Chauhan or because he was like his creator Vishnu "form armed".

Sakambhari in Rajasthan. Initially they were the feudatories of the Gurjara pratiharas of Kanauj. Vigraharaja II was the first among them to become independent in c. 973 AD Ajayaraja alias Sahana of this dynasty founded the city of Ajayameru, later called Ajmer, and shifted his capital there Earlier, Delhi (Dhillika or Indraprastha) was the capital of the kingdom of the Tomara dynasty. The Chauhan king Vigraharaja IV or Bisal (1153-1163 AD) of Amjer had conquered and annexed it to his kingdom and made it (i.e., Delhi) the provincial capital. At the time of Ghaurid invasion Prithviraja III (1178-1192 AD) was the Chauhan ruler of Ajmer and Govindaraja his governor at Delhi.

Bayana

Modern Bayana to the south-west of Delhi, was called in ancient times variously, such as Srpatha,¹⁸ Tribhuvanagiri and Thangarh. It was a small kingdom of the Yadu (or Yadava) dynasty, founded in the first half of the eleventh century AD. It comprised of the old Bharatpur State and the Mathura district. Kamarapala was the ruler of this kingdom at the time of the Ghaurid invasion.¹⁹

Kanauj*

Kanayakubja, which later come to be known as Kanauj was the kingdom of the Gahadavala dynasty (1080-1200 AD) founded by Chadradeva (c. 1080-1100 AD). He conquered Kanauj in about 1080 AD from the Rashtrakuta king Gopala established his rule there. Later in 1090 AD he also conquered Allahabad, Banaras, and the rest part of the country which had been held by the Kalachuri Kings of Tripuri (Dahala) and reunited them with Kanauj. Govinda Chandra (1114-1155 AD) was the greatest king of the Gahadavala dynasty. He seems to have shifted his capital from Kanauj to Banaras* and made the former second capital.

* Kanyakubja, The Capital of city of Panchala, came to be known in later as Kanauj.

* This is reason in the Muslim chronicles and Kalachuri epigraphs the Gahadavalas were mentioned as the kings of "Banaras".

Before the Ghaurid invasion his grandson Jayachandra (1170-1193 AD) was ruling there.

Badaun

Vodamayuta, modern Badaun, was a small kingdom of the later Rashtrakutas. They were originally rulers of the Deccan where Danntidurga founded his dynasty in 753 AD supplanting the Chalukyas. In later days they flourished and extended their kingdom to the north. They became so powerful that they involved themselves into the famous tripartite war for the supremacy over Kanauj. Their two other rivals were the Gurajara Pratiharas in the west and the Palas in the east. Though they failed in the beginning they later succeeded to have hold over it in the second decade of the eleventh century AD. In about 1080 AD the Gahadavala king Chandradeva occupied Kanauj by expelling the Rashtrakuta king Gopala who then retired to Badaun and continued to rule there for generations. Amritapala was one of the famous rulers of this dynasty. His younger brother as well as successor, Kakhanapala was the king of Badaun at the time of Mu'iz uddin's invasion.²⁰

Gwalior

Gwalior, was ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century AD by one of the three branches of the Kachchapaghata dynasty. The rule of this branch was established there by one Vajradamana, son of Lakshmana in or before 977 AD. His successors were ruling there before the Ghaurid invasion of the country.

Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand)

The kingdom of Jejakabhukti, modern Bundelkhand, comprising Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho was under the Chandella dynasty, established by Dhanga towards the closing the tenth century AD. Before the Ghaurid invasion Paramardideva (1165-1201 AD) was ruling there.

Bihar

Bihar during the period under review was divided into four small principalities which were ruled by the kings of different dynasties. Mithila was ruled by the Karnatakas, Pithi by the Senas, Japila by the Khayaravalas and Jayapura (modern Jayanagar in the Monghyr District) by the Guptas.

Bengal

Bengal was then under the rule of the Sena Kings. Samanta Sena, originally a native of Karnataka in South India, was the founder of the dynasty.²¹ His son Hemanta Sena carved out a principality in western Bengal during the decline of the Pala rule. This kingdom was expanded by his son Vijaya Sena (c. 1105-1158 AD), who ousted the Palas from Gauda and conquered nearly the whole of Bengal. His capital was Vikrampur to the east of Dhaka and a second capital at Nadia. At the time of the Muslim invasion Lakshmana Sena (1179-1210 AD), the fourth ruler of the dynasty was ruling there.

From the above statement it is found that before the Ghaurid invasion of India only three kingdoms viz., Sindh, Multan and Lahore, which were situated at the western and north-western borders, were under three Muslim rulers, whereas rest of India was ruled by Hindu kings of different dynasties. They were always at feud with each other and could not unite even against the foreign invaders.

1.1.4 Causes of Invasion

After consolidating his position of Ghazni as a governor Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghauri turned his attention towards India. The main cause of his invasion of India was his imperialistic attitude. Preaching of Islam does not seem to have been his main goal. His expeditions against the Sumras of Sindh and the Yaminios of Lahore, who were his coreligionists bear witness of this effect.

When the Ghauris came into prominence as an imperial power in Afghanistan they found two more competitors existing at their northern border. One was the Shah of Khawarizm (modern Khiva in USSR) and the other, the Ghuzz Turk. They were equally powerful and flourishing kings. Due to their strong resistance on the north-west border it was not possible for the Ghauris to expand their kingdom to that direction.²² On the contrary, India being divided into so many kingdoms and its rulers being disunited, created an easy access to them. So, it appears that the selection of India by the Ghauris for the expansion of their kingdom was for strategic reason

1.1.5 Conquests

Multan and Singh

Muhammad Ghauri directed his first expedition towards Multan in 571 AH/1175 AD against the Qaramathian rulers whose name is not known. The Qaramathians had established their rule in this area long back. Earlier Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.), the Ghaznavid King who was also an antagonist to this sect, had led Jihad against Abu'l Fath Daud,²³ the then Qarmathian ruler of the place. For the same reason Muhammad Ghauri, who was a Sunni, invaded Multan and defeated its ruler. After conquering the territory, he marched towards Uch in Upper Sindh and occupied it. He annexed these territories to his kingdom and appointed 'Ali Kirmani' or 'ali Karmakh' as his governor there.

In 578 A.H. 1182 AD he marched towards Debal in Sindh and overran the whole country as far as the sea-coast. He compelled the Sumra ruler of the place to acknowledge his suzerainty.

Gujarat

Later, in 574 AH/1178 AD he marched towards Gujarat. He entered into its interior and reached the capital Anhillpataka, modern anhilwada. The King Mularaja II (1176-1178 A.D.) was a minor boy. His mother Nakadevi led the army against the Muslims. In the battle fought at

Gadaraghatta near the foot of Mt. Abu, Muhamamd Ghauri was defeated and he had to retreat.

Peshwar

Having been defeated at Gujarat, Muhammad Ghauri realized his folly that he should not have gone to the west but should have tried his luck in the nearby territory of Punjab. This was necessary for him for the strategic reason. At that time the Gaznavid, Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD) was the ruling king of Punjab and his capital was at Lahore. Peshwar was province of his kingdom which was then under a governor.

Muhamamd Ghauri got an opportunity to invade this kingdom when Chakradeva, the ruler of Jammu, asked for his assistance against Khusru Malik who had shielded the rebellious Khokars. Muhamamd Ghauri most gladly accepted the invitation and attacked Peshawar in 575 AH/1179 AD. He occupied the place and drove out the Gaznavid governor.²⁴ Thus, he annexed it to the Ghaurid kingdom and garrisoned it properly.

Lahore

Now Muhammad Ghauri aimed at Lahore. But it was not easy for him to get his say over it. He made three successive attempts to occupy the place. He made his first attempt in 577 AH/1181 AD. A battle was fought in which Khusru Malik was defeated and obliged to sue for a treaty and present an elephant. He was also compelled to send his son Malik Shah as a hostage in the court of Muhammad Ghauri.

After two years Muhamamd Ghauri again invaded Lahore in 579 AH/1183 AD and laid a siege around the town, but it proved to be a failure and he had to retreat. On his way back, he captured Sialkot, an old fort. He placed a garrison of his own under a general, Hussian, and returned to Ghazni.

In 582 AD/1186 AD Mu'iz uddin led his third expedition against Lahore. This time Khusru Malik got frightened and sued for peace, when he came out of the fort to discuss the terms of treaty, he was betrayed by

Mu'iz uddin. The latter captured him and send him as a captive to Firuzkoh. There he placed Ali Kirmani or Ali Karmakh as his governor and Siraj uddin Minhaj as the Qazi.

Delhi and Ajmer

By so annexing Punjab Mu'iz uddin had now reached close to the Chauhan kingdom which had its capital at Ajmer. King Prithviraja III (1177-1192 AD), he again invaded, he succeeded. But he did not annex this kingdom to his own. He allowed the successor of Prithviraja to continue his rule in Ajmer and that of Govindaraja in Delhi as his subordinate vassals. At the same time, to keep an watch over them, he placed Qutab uddin aibak with a garrison of Guhram and Samana, a mauza of Indarpat (Indraprastha). When the successor of Govindraja showed his hostility against his suzerain, Qutab uddin Aibak occupied Delhi and turned him out in 589 AH/1193 AD. From now Delhi formed part of the Ghaurid kingdom which was destined later to be the centre of the Muslim Sultanate in India. Qutab uddin then occupied Meerut and Kol and annexed them to it.

For quite sometimes Ajmer was ruled by the son of Prithviraja III, under the subordination of Mu'iz uddin. It was annexed to the Ghaurid kingdom only in 1194 AD when Hariraja, the brother of Prithviraja, showed hostility against Prithviraja's son who was a Gharuid vassals. It became now imperative for Qutab uddin to take the kingdom under his direct control and he did the same.

Kanauj and Banras

In 590 AH/1194 AD Mu'iz uddin along with Qutab uddin Aibak invaded the Gahadavala kingdom of Kanauj and Banras and killed its ruler Jayachandra (1170-1194 A.D.) in a battle fought at Chandwar on the banks of Yamuna between Etawah and Kanauj. He ravaged Banaras and Asni and conquered the kingdom. When Mu'iz uddin returned back to his capital, Harishchandra, the son of Jayachandra, regained the north-

eastern part of the kingdom including Banaras and continued to rule there.²⁶

Bayana

In 592 AH/ 1196 A.D. Mu'iz uddin came again to India. This time he invaded Bayana. The king Mumbarapala for the fear of his life, surrendered his kingdom without any fight. Bayana, thus became part of the Ghaurid empire. Baha uddin Tughril was appointed as the governor there.

Gwalior

Next Mu'iz uddin marched towards Gwalior in 592 AH/1196 AD and laid siege around the city. The king Sallakshanapala surrendered to Mu'iz uddin and the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

Kalinjar

Now in 599 AH/1202 AD Qutab uddin, the Ghaurid viceroy of Delhi, attacked the fort of Kalinjar and laid siege to the city. The Chandel king Paramardi surrendered to the Muslims. He made a treaty with them and promised to pay regular tribute. But this was resisted by his minister Ajayadeva. He killed the king and renewed the fight. Ultimately, he too failed to resist the Muslims and had to surrender. Thus, Kalinjar, Manoba and Khajuraho were annexed and Hazabbar uddin Hasan Arbol was appointed as the governor.

Badaun

After Kalinjar Qutab uddin Aibak marched towards Badaun in 1202 AD. He ousted the Rashtrakuta king Lakshnapala and conquered it. Then he appointed Iltutmish as its governor.

Bihar

While Qutab uddin Aibak was busy in the central Northern India, another general of Mu'iz uddin, Ikhtiyar uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khaji, marched toward the east. In 1202 AD he invaded Jayapura, one of the four principalities of Bihar, and conquered it without any resistance.

from its Gupta king Sangramagupta. After this he came to Qutab uddin Aibak, who was then at Badau, to report his achievements.

Bengal

Inspired by his success in Bihar, the young general Ikhtiyar uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar moved towards Bengal. At that time he king Lakshmana Sena was staying at his second capital at Nadia. When he heard of the advancement of the Muslim forces towards his kingdom, he tried to ward off the impending catastrophe by performing a great sacrifice (yajana) called Aidir Mahamapa Sena fled to his capital, Bikrampur, in East Bengal and continued to rule there. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar conquered Gauda (The western and Northern part of Bengal) in 6101 AH / 1205 AD and established the seat of his government at the old city of Gauda.

Thus by, 1205 AD the Ghauris succeeded to established an empire in India which extended from Ghazni in the West to Gauda in the east and Punjab in the north of Kalinjar in the south.

2. The Coinage

During all the expeditions and consequents it was imperative for Mu'iz uddin Muhamamd bin Sam, according to the Islamic traditions, to have khutbah read in his name and to issue his own coins to proclaim his ruling authority.

It has already been stated that while Mu'iz uddin was invading India, he was simply the governor of Ghazni under his brother Ghiyas uddin Muhamamd bin Sam, the then sovereign of Ghaur. It is also stated that long before his coming to India Mu'iz uddin had been permitted by his brother to issue coins in his name. According he had been issuing coins since he was the governor of Istiah of Kanjuran* (566-569 AH/1170-1173 AD). But those coins were irregular issues. The regular issues he started

* At that time his *Laqab* (title) was "Shihab uddin" and the contemporary Abbasis Khatifah of Baghdad was "Al-Mustazi billah" (566-575 AH/1170-1180 AD). two coins of this period have been noticed. One gold another silver.

to mint, so far known, was when he became the governor of Ghazni (569-599 AH/1173-1202 AD). These Ghazni coins were joint issues bearing his own name as well as that of his brother.²⁷ (Cat No. 1, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.1). They were of gold, silver and copper known as *dinar dirham* and *fals* respectively. In issuing these he had before him the coin-types of the Ghaznavid kings who in turns had followed those of the Samanids (874-705 AD), the fifty Umayyad Khalifah of Islam. These coins had the Arabic legends on both sides and were devoid of pictorial motifs.²⁸

The earliest coins issued by Mu'iz uddin from Ghazni during his governorship, so far known, were dated in 590 AH/ 1194 AD. They were silver dirham weighting 4.415 gms / 68 gns, according to the then prevalent weight standard. They had on their one side (obverse) the Arabic legend consisting of the first half of the Kalimah, "*la ilaha illa Allah*", the name of the contemporary Abbasid Khalifah, "*Al Nasir billah*"* and the name of the title of Ghiyas uddin as "*al-Sutlan al-'azam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abu'l fath Muhammad bin sam.*" (Cat No. 1, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.2). It was written in the central area within single circle. In the marginal space around it, was the Quranic verse "*huwa'llazi arsala rasulahu bi'l huda ws dini'l haq li yazhirahu 'ala al-din kulliihi wa law kariha'ls mushrikun.*" This marginal legend was again encompassed by another single circle. The other side (reverse) of these coins had the Arabic legend bearing the last half of the Kalimah, "*Muhammad ur rasul Allah*" and the name of and title of Mu'iz uddin as "*al-Sultan al-mu'azaam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzzafar Muhamamd bin Sam*". Above the first lie of this legend was the word *lillah* and, like the obverse, this legend was also written in the central area within single circle. In the margin of this side we had the coin-name, *dirham*, mint-name, Ghazanah and the date of issue, 590 AH (=1194 AD) in Arabic word. These coins imitated the coinage of Abdul Mlik and his

* Al Nasir billah His full name was Al-Nasir lidini llah Ahmad Ab'l Abbas. He was the 34th Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad and reigned from 575-622 AH/1180-1225 AD on the coins of Mu'iz uddin the Khalifah's name was written in the abridged form due to shortage of space.

* Al-Quran al Shareff.

successors and also those of the saffarids and the samanids. In 592 AH (=1196 AD) he issued some gold *dinars* of the weight of 6.428-6.039 gms / 99-93 gns which were identical with the above silver *dirhams* in their type and contents.

He also issued some double *dirhams* of the weight 8.636 gms / 133 gns having the same legends as on the above type, but were arranged in a different manner. Here the *Kalimah* in full was written on the obverse and the Khalifah's name "*Al-Nasir li dini' llah*" on the reverse. The other parts of legends on both the faces was made in a decorative manner. The central areas on both obverse and reverse were very small which were enclosed by four concentric circles with gaps in between creating three successive marginal spaces around. In the central areas on both the faces was written "*Muhammad bin Sam*" common part of the names of both Ghiyas uddin and Mu'iz uddin, and in the three marginal spaces around, the rest part of the legends. These coins were issued in 596 AH/1199 AD. (Cat No. 1, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.3).

He also issued in the same year some 1½ dirhams in the weight of 5.50-4.805 gms / 84.7-74 gns in the very type of above double dirham. These coins differ only in weight and denominational value.

These coins show that Mu'iz uddin issued them as the subordinate of his brother and at the same time acknowledging the authority of the Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad. It is remarkable that in order to indicate the differences of status between the two brothers he used, on these coins, the regular title *Sultan al-'Azam* (i.e., "the great Sultan" in the positive degree) with the name of Ghiyas uddin and "*Sultan al-mu'azzam*" (i.e., "the great Sultan" in the positive degree) with his own name. It is also noticed that so long his brother was alive he never adopted the former title (i.e., *Sultan al-'azam*) for himself.

On the death of Ghiyas uddin in 599 AH/1201 AD, when Mu'iz uddin himself became the sovereign of the Ghaurid empire, he issued new

type of gold and silver coins in only his name with slightly different legends.

The gold *dinars* contained the *Kalimah* and the *Khalifah's* name on the obverse in the central area enclosed by the double square. The Quranic verse was written around it in the four segments and was encompassed by the double circles of which the outer one was of dots. On the reverse Mu'iz uddin's name and title as "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mujmamad bin sam*" was written in the central area, the mint-name and the date in Arabic words in the four segments. These gold dinars weighed 8.7597-7.6818 gms / 134.8-118.3 gns. The earliest known coins of this type was dated in 600 AH/1202 AD.

His silver dirhams of this period had almost the same contents and area-liens with the exception that the double circle enclosing the segments were both of lines and none of dots, and that the coin-name here was mentioned as *dirham* because of their being of silver.

However, these coins of Ghazni remained local and had no effect on the coinage that Mu'iz uddin issued from the various places during his conquests in Indian territories. Wherever he went he imitated the local coinage that were current there.

It is known that all the coinages of Indian kingdoms before his invasion had pictorial motifs on both sides or at least on side, and Mu'iz uddin as shrewd politician did not hesitate to adopt them on his own coins issued in those territories after their conquest.

2.1 Peshwar

Coming to India when Mu'iz uddin occupied Peshwar in 575 AH/ 1179 AD he found there the coinage of the Ghaznavid ruler Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD) with the bull motif in the pattern of the *Shahi* bull and horsman type which had been introduced by Hindu Shahi King Spalpatideva of Kabula nd Gandhara in the middle of the ninth century AD.²⁹

The Shah rulers had adopted on their coins the devices of the recumbent bull on one side and the horseman on the other. The recumbent bull was facing left and the name of the issuer was written over it Sarada script. The horseman on the other side was facing right, the rider holding a lance in his right hand and the rein in the left. On this side there was again the name of the issuer written in the cursive Bactrian character.³⁰ This type had a very wide diffusion. In India it was used for quite time by the rulers of a number of dynasties and kingdoms, such as the Tomaras, the Chauhans (or Chahamanas), the Rashtrakutas (or Badaun) and others. It has also extended towards the west. There the Samanids of Bukhara issued a few coins in this type in the name of the Abbasid Khalifah, Al-Muata dir billah* (295-320 AH/907-932 AD) and Al-Muti billah (334-365 A.H./ 946-974 AD. which were found as far as Iraq. Apparently the use of the pictorial motif adopted on these Khalifat coins on the Shahi rulers appears to be against the Islamic injunction laid down in the Hadith (traditions) forbidding the making of any kind of pictorial motif, but here it is to be noted that conservatism in the coinage was prevalent everywhere in the world and the issuers adopted or followed the pattern that were current in the territory before them.

We know that before the advent of Islam in Arabia the Byzantine gold solidus and copper fals as well as the Sassanian silver drachms were current there. They had the portrait / bust of the king on one side and the cross / fire altar on the other; and the same were copied when the earliest Islamic coins were issued.

Muhammd the Prophet as well as the founder of the Islamic state in Arabia, had let the continuance of these coins. The earlier Khalifas also followed the same pattern and only inscribed the Arabic word "bismillah" (i.e., in the name of Allah) in Kufic style on them. Afterwards quotations from the Holy Quran were also inscribed. This system continued down to

* Several pieces of the bull and horsemen type silver dirahams (wt. 4.17 gms / 64.5 gns), in the name of Khalifah Al-Muata dir billah have been discovered. Some of them were found at *Baghdad-Iraq*.

the fifth Umayyad Khalifah Abdul Malik (65-86 A.H. / 684-705 AD) who also issued coins with his own portrait in the early part of his reign (i.e., between 65 and 77 AH), although afterwards he reformed and Arabicized them. This makes it clear that the use of pictorial motif on coins was never abhorred by the Muslim rulers. That it was except Sultan Mahmud³¹ all the other Ghaznavid rulers including Khusru Malik had no hesitation in adopting the pictorial motifs of the coinage of the Hindu Shahis on their own coins. And in their follow when Muhammad Ghauri entered into Peshawar he issued his coins in the same way with some modifications to suit his own environments.

Khusru Malik's coins of Peshwar mint weighed 3-3½ gms / 46.2-2.53i gms and were of a single type distinguished into two varieties. On one variety the obverse had a standing bull to left with "Sri Sama (nta deva)" in Sharada script over it and on the reverse was the Arabic legend "*Al-Sultan al-'Azam Taj-al-Dawlah Khusru Malik*" in four lines. On the other variety, the obverse had the same device as on the above coin except that the bull here facing right instead of left. The reverse had the similar Arabic legend but of different formula which was "*Malik al-Sultan al-'azam abu muluk khusru*" in five lines.

Following these coins-types of Khusru Malik, Mu'iz uddin issued his own coins there with some modifications. His coins were identical with those of Khusru Malik in metal and weight as well as in recording of Arabic legend on one side. On the other side he also copied one motif of the Shahi coins, while Khusru Malik copied only the bull, he copied both, on some coins he adopted the horseman and on others, the bull. The horseman is seen on his early coins where it faced left unlike that on the Shahi coins where it faces right. The bull appears on his later coins where it is placed standing as on the coins of Khusru Malik and not recumbent as on the Shahi coins.

In issuing his earliest coins at Peshwar Mu'iz uddin preferred to remain anonymous and placed the name of his brother Ghiyas uddin in

four lines as "Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abu'l fah Muhammad bin sam". This shows that he was acting on behalf of his brother, and he had no regal status. But this coin appears to have been issued just for a very short period. This is borne out from the fact that it is known from a solitary specimen in the American Numismatic Society, New York.

Soon another type of coins was issued. There we have the name of the Sultan as "Muhammad bin Sam". Since the name "*Muhamamd bin Sam*" was common to both the brothers, Ghiyas uddin and Mu'iz uddin, as stated earlier, it is difficult to postulate that the coin indicate the suzerainty of Ghiyasuddin or is claim of sovereignty for himself by Mu'iz uddin. Most likely this was tactful device that Mu'iz uddin adopt to avoid his brother as well as not to annoy him be openly claiming suzerainty.

The earliest coin with this name (i.e., Muhammad bin Sam) was issued, as it appears, not from Peshwar but from Karaman³² where the headquarters of the province was shifted and governorship was entrusted to Taj uddin Yalduz. This type of coins have on the one side (reverse) the horseman to left with spear at charge pointing downwards and on the other (obverse) the Arabic legend "*Malik al-Sultan al'-azam abu'l muzaffar Muhammad bin sam*". They seem to be issued after 582 AH/1186 AD when on the conquest of Lahore some other coins with he identical legend were simultaneously issued from there following the model of the current coins of Khussru Malik. However, the type was soon discarded. Its Arabic legend was simplified and reduced to three lines as "*al-Sultan al-'azam Muhammad bin Sam*". With this legend another type of coins were issued which for minor differences in their contents may be distinguished into three varieties. One, the horseman on the reveres facing left holds a spear at charge above the horses head and both the obverse and reverse have dotted borders. Two, the horse appears to be lean and thin on the reverse and the last letter "nun" of "al-Sultan" is put above the legend on the obverse.

The use of the common name "*Muhamamd bin Sam*" on these coins without distinguishable titles (laqabs) of Ghiyas uddin and Mu'iz uddin indicates that they were issued by Mu'iz uddin during the life time of this brother under who he was serving as the governor of Ghazni including the new conquest of India territories.

Besides, these coins with comouflage name, "*Muhamamd bin sam*," Mu'iz uddin also issued from here another type of coins where he placed his name as "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din Muhamamd (bin) sam*" in four lines. These coins may reasonably be attributed to the period when Ghiyas uddin was more in this world i.e., after his death in 599 AH/1202 AD when Mu'iz uddin himself became the sovereign. This type closely imitates the coins of the Ghazanavid Khusru in its obverse motif. Here the bull is seen standing left on one variety and to right on another as it is seen on the two varieties of the prototype.

However, the main features of the Ghaurid, Peshwar and Kuraman type coins are as follows:

- (a) The pictorial motifs (bull or horseman) on them are degraded than those of the Shahi and the Ghaznavid coins. The bull and horseman here look barbarous.
- (b) The bull is always standing unlike those on the other coins where it is recumbent.

2.2 Lahore

At Lahore the coins that were current at this period were issued by the Gaznavid ruler Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD). His coins were of two types. One followed the Islamic tradition with Arabic legends on both the faces. The other followed the Indian tradition that had been introduced earlier by the Hindu Shahi kings and was adopted by the Ghazanavid rulers including Khusru Malik with minor modifications having the bull motif on one side (obverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (reverse) as he

had issued earlier at Peshawar. Besides, those of Khusru Malik, some coins of this predecessor which were issued only in the latter type, were also current.

When Muhamamd Ghauri came to Lahore he issued his initial coins adopting the Ghaznavid current issues of the above mentioned latter type having recumbent bull with the Nagari lends on the other (reverse). The Arabic legend on these coins was "*Malik al-Sultan al-'azam abu'l muzaffar Muhammad (bin) sam*" in five lines, the same as had been on is coins of Kuraman mint. The bull was placed here facing left.

He also issued a second variety of this type where the Arabic legend was retained intact but the facing direction of the bull was changed from left to right. The word i.e., "*Khair*" was not exclusive on Mu'iz uddi's coins, it was used earlier by the Ghazanavid ruler, Khusru Malik and Mu'iz uddin, simply imitated it.

Soon he discarded it and issued a second type with the horseman and the Nagari legend "*Sri hamirah*" on one side (reverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (obverse) in the pattern of this own coins that he had introduced earlier at Peshawar and Kuraman. But unlike those, the horseman here is more in outline resembling that the Chauhans. This very pattern of horseman and the Nagari legend "*Sri hamirah*" made this side of the coin identical with his Delhi issued and thereby indicates t be of a period later than 589 AH/1193 AD, a date when Delhi was annexed. The obverse legend on these coins is "*Al-Sultan al-azam Muhamamd bin Sam*". Similar to that on his Kuraman coins

Still later, the issued a third type where the reintroduced the bull motif on the obverse as had been on his earlier type of this kind but adopted a different legend on the reveres. The bull here faced left and an Arabic word "*Khair*" is written on its hump. The reverse legend is "*Adl al-Sultan al-'azam' Mu'iz al-duniya Muhammad (bin) Sam*" in five lines. The word "adl" at the beginning of the legend is new on these coins of Mu'iz uddin. But it can be traced back in Indian numismatist first on the coins of

Khudavyaka,³³ the Hindu Shahi governor of Kabul under the Saffarids. Later, many of the Gazanvid rulers copied it on their Lahore coins. Mu'iz uddin simply imitated it and continued the traditions. It may be mentioned here that Muhammad Ghauri must have issued this type of coins with his personal laqab "Mu'iz uddin" only after the death of his brother Ghiyas uddin in 599 AH/1202 AD.

A second variety of this type was issued where the word "adl" is eliminated from the reverse legend, but clearly mentioned the word bin" between "Muhammad" and "Sam". With this reverse legend he issued a third variety of this type where the bull faces right instead of left. Like all the above coins this type also bears on the obverse some writings above the bull. These writings in all the other cases have been unanimously read the incomplete name of "Sri Samantadeva" in Sarada scripts. But here they being more illegible have become difficult to be deciphered and hence it is a matter of controversy among the scholars. According to John S. Deyell they are Arabic numerals representing 1215, which seems to be incorrect. It is likely that they are also the same incomplete name of "Sri Samantadeva" in Bactrian character as had been on the coins of Khudavayaka.

Besides, there was another type of coin of Muhammad Ghauri which followed purely Islamic tradition with Arabic legends on both the faces. This was a new type of Muhammad Ghuri coin in India. It also imitated the similar coin-type of Khusru Malik whose coins of this type were known only in billon and had the Arabic legends on both the sides as stated above. Muhammad Ghauri's coins of this type have on the obverse the legend "*al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din*" in four lines and on the reverse "*Muhamamd bin Sam*" in two lines. The notable feature of these coins is a six pointed star at the top of the reverse legend which is exactly the same as it seen on Khusru Malik's coins of this type. There is a variety of this type where, the reverse, the name "Muhammad bin Sam" is preceded by an epithet "*abu'l muzaffar*". This epithet is found earlier on his

coin Kuraman. Here the six-pointed star above the reverse legend is replaced by a small circle. This circle is also eliminated, a little later, on another variety of this type.

2.3 Ajmer

[After Lahore, Muhammad Ghuri moved towards Ajmer, the capital of the Chauhan ruler Prithviraja III (1177-1192 AD) whom he had defeated. The coins issued by him from this Chauhan capital followed the pattern of the local current coins of Prithviraja III with only modification that the Nagari legend "Asavari Sri amantadeva" around the bull on the obverse was replaced by the conqueror's name "Muhammad bin sam" but in the same Nagari script. The reverse was retained unchanged which bears the horseman motif with the name "Sri Prithvirajadeva".³⁴ (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.4.). Here we have on the coins the names of the conqueror together which is peculiar. But this peculiarity is not unknown in numismatic history of India. In the ancient history of the north-western part of India there are many instances of coins which bear the name of the over-lord or the senior partner in kingship on the obverse and that of the feudatory, viceroy or junior partner on the reverse.³⁵ The same may be true here also, but there is a gap of about a millennium between the ancient issues and the present one. Not a single instance is known in between. So this coins has led to several speculations.]

[Edward Thomas was the first published coins of the this type.³⁶ He observed the appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin sam and Prithviraja on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities.] We find that the son of the Rai Prithviraja, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was left in charge of Ajmer, in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at headquarters, for special circulation on his government.

In Edward Thomas's view this coin did not draw any serious attention of the scholars until the coin was incorporated by H.N. Wright in his *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*. There he has remarked that the coin shows the transition stage, the obverse bearing the name of the conqueror and the reverse that of the conquered – Prithviraja.

This mention of the coin led Kunwar Devi Singh to speculate that Muhammad bin Sam thought it wise to retain the name of the Chauhan king Prithviraja to make the coin popular in the newly conquered territory

Commenting on Dev Singh's observation P.L. Gupta pointed out³⁷ that the imitation of the coin-type was already adopted earlier and the same was done now in Prithviraja's own coin. The side with horseman has the legend "*Sri Prithvirajadeva*" while that with the bull has "*Asavari Sri Samantadeva*". The coin under discussion resembles the issue of the Chauhan king, in as much as the horseman, side is similar in both the cases, although the bull side has the name of the Ghurid ruler "Sri Muhammad Sam" instead of that of the Shahi king "*Sri Samantadeva*". On similar other issues of Muhammad bin Sam, the name of Prithviraja is replaced on the horseman side by the legend "*hamirah*". It is clear that Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam continued the old process of imitation in issuing his own coins in India, but that, owing to a mistake of his mint officers. Prithviraja's name was put on the side that should have properly borne the Sultan's name while the later was used to replace the traditional handed name of the Samantadeva on the other side of the coins. As soon, however, the mistake was noticed, the mint officers replaced Prithviraja's name by the Sultan's title. Though Gupta does not say explicitly but what he says amounts to suggest that the coins were mule, where the dies of two different, coins are coupled accidentally at the mint which sometimes had happened in the past and the instances are also known in the present times. A.S. Altekar also believes in the mule theory of these coins.³⁸ This suggestions given by Gupta and supported by Altekar is within the

plausibility but here it does not appear to be so. Their opinion appears to be based on the belief that only or two coins of this type are known. But actually the coins that we know were struck not by a single but at least by two different dies. All the coins are not exactly of the same weight and size which would have been the case had the coins been muled.

This makes it almost certain that the coins were struck at the mint deliberately in this form as the joint issues of Muhammad bin Sam and Prithviraja.

D.C. Sircar, D. Sharma and P.C. Roy believes these coins to be the joint issues of these two rulers and they have tried to visualize the circumstances in which they would have been issued.

The opinion of D.C. Sircar³⁹ is that these coins would have been issued by Prithviraja as a subordinate of Muhammad bin Sam or by the latter as a subordinate of the former. But at the same time he also pointed out that 'the known facts of the relations between the said two rulers do not speak of any period when one of them could have issued coins as subordinate to the other. So he presumes that these coins were issued not during the time of Prithviraja but of his son who is well known as the subordinate of Muhammad bin Sam.

But to us it seems unlikely that any subordinate would put the name of his deceased father and not his own name. If he did so there would be some cogent legend of which we are not aware of so far.

[Another scholar Dasrat Sharma also believes that these coins were the joint issues of Muhammad Ghauri and Prithviraja. He maintains that Prithviraja was not killed at the battlefield of Tarain as many historians believe. He points out that the contemporary chronicler Hasan Nizami has categorically said that Prithviraja was taken prisoner and led to this capital Ajmer. It is stated in the Prabandhachintamani that Muhammad Ghauri had some intention of restoring him on throne.⁴⁰ He was beheaded only when Muhammad Ghauri discovered that his picture gallery contained paintings

representing Muslim soldiers being killed by pigs. He see carnal of truth in these coins of Prithviraja's reinstatement.]

A close scrutiny of these coins shows that the depiction of the horseman is exactly the same as seen on Prithviraja's own coins. This leaves no doubt that some dies were made at the Ajmer mint with the name of Muhamamd bin Sam following the pattern of Prithviraja's coins. It is possible only at the time of his arrival at Ajmer after defeating Prithviraja and not at any time earlier. As such the coin should be visualized and interpreted accordingly. It may be well agreed with Dasarath Sharma in accepting the statement of Hasan Nizami that Prithviraja was not killed at the battle-field, but he was made captive. It is normally seen that the defeated king when made prisoner was taken to the capital of the conqueror and never to that conquered.* If he was taken to Amjer it means that he was not actually made prisoner, but was led to this capital under some agreement to treaty between the conqueror and the conquered. What the author of the Prabandhachintamani says amounts to suggest this fact. If any treaty was made between the two, there would have been some conditions that Prithviraja had to accept the suzerainty of Muhammad Ghauri and to issue coins in his name along with this own. This permission of putting Prithviraja's name on the coins might well have meant to restore confidence amongst his people about his being reinstated to his kingdoms.

Whatever might be the fact behind the issue of the coins, it undoubtedly indicated that Prithviraja was alive for sometimes after his defeat at the battle of Tarain and that he had accepted the over-lordship of Muhammad Ghuri. And Muhammad Ghauri as shrewd politicians would have thought it wise to restore Prithviraja as his tributary in the distant west of Rajasthan, the tract full sans. This step he might have taken in view of his defeat at he hand of Mularaja II, the Chaulukya king of Gujarat.

* Muhamamd Ghauri himself followed this practice when the imprisoned Khusru Malik the Ghazaniv ruler of Lahore.

This also led him to realize that it would not be possible for him to control that area by himself. He contented himself by annexing a part of Prithviraja as territory which lied in the plans to the border Punjab and was easily accessible to him.

Recently, Johns S. Deyell supporting the mule theory has remarked on this coin that whatever the circumstances of issue, the coins could not have been intended as a regular currency issued, their numbers were too small. If intentionally issued they were mules or mint errors. Finally they may have been the product of mint port, the unauthorized but intentional muling of old dies by mint personnel for private purpose. He seems to have formed this opinion on the ground that the number of these coins, so far discovered, is small and that the coins were made, in his opinion, by a single pair die. He, therefore, says, "It is impossible to establish the existence of more than one die for each face."

But we should not forget the circumstances in which these coins were issued. It was a transition stage and the tenure of Prithviraja's reinstatement was very short. The coins issues during this period were obviously very few. In that consideration, after the lapse of a long seven hundred years, their representation by four specimens is not enough. The opinion of Deyell that they were made by a single pair of die, does not seem likely. From the statement of E Thomas, A. Cunningham and H.N. Wright it is revealed that these coins were of different weights and sizes. The two photographs of these coins supplied by E. Thomas⁴¹ and A. Cunningham clearly shows that at least two sets of dies were used to strike these coins. Besides the differences in sizes, E. Thomas's coin record the name of the Ghaurid ruler as "*Mahamad Sam*" while that of A. Cunningham, as "*Mahamad Same*".

Four coins of this type have so far been noticed. One was in the cabinet of E. Thomas and three in that of A. Cunningham. From Cunningham's collection two were, later, donated to the British Museum. All the coins are of billon but they vary in their weights and sizes. E

Thomas's coin weighs 2.34 gms / 36 gns, its size is not mentioned. Of the two coins in the British Museum from Cunningham's collection one has the weight 2.858 gms / 44 gns and the other 3.507 gms / 54 gns, their sizes are 1.5 and 1.38 respectively. The measurement of Cunningham's third coin which remained in his own collection, is not known.

P.C. Roy visualized the coins in the real perspective of the fact to a greater extent, but he made mistake when he identified the mint as of Delhi and their issuing authority as Muhammad bin Sam.⁴² According to him Muhammad bin Sam struck these coins after the death of Prithviraja but he put the name of the deceased king on the coins only to popularize them.

E. Thomas and A. Cunningham also think that this type of coins were issued from Delhi mint, but the circumstantial evidence speak in favour of Amjer* which explained above on the authority of *Taj ul-Ma'sir* and *Prabhandhachintamani*. The date of their issues seems to be the very year of Muhammad Ghauri's victory in the second battle of Tarain in 588 A.H. / 1192 A.D. after which it is stated that he marched to Amjer carrying the defeated king and on reaching there he reinstated Prithviraja as his vassal who seemed to have issued these coins, but for the reason stated above he (i.e., Prithviraja) was killed and his son was put to the throne.

2.4 Delhi

Delhi was finally annexed to the Ghaurid empire in 1193 A.D. and the Ghaurid coins were struck there as was one earlier at Peshawar and Lahore. The coins issued from Delhi followed the pattern of the Amjer (i.e., the joint issues) with only eliminating the name of Prithviraja from the horseman side and substituting it by the Sultan's title "Sri hamirah", the Sankritized form of Arabic "*amir*".

* Ajmer was the capital city of the Chauhan kings. So there must have been a Mint. Delhi was previously the capital of the Tomara Kings, where also had been a mint of their own after conquest by the Chauhan kings it was reduced to a provincial capital but the mint have been continued.

The word “amir” means “a commander” or “a leader”. But, as the designation of an administrative post in Islam owes its origins in the time of Prophet Muhammad who bestowed it on his military commander.⁴³ Later, Muawiyah, the Ummayyad Khalifah, designed his viceroy with this name. Since then the title was invoked for the viceroys / governors under the Khalifahs. Some of the independent rulers like the Saffarids and the Samanids expressed their allegiance to the Khalifah by using this title.

In the background of these facts the title “*amir*” used by Muhammad ghauri reminds us of the coins that he had issued at Ghazni and placed on them the name of the Khalifah “*Al-Nasir li dinillah*”. We do not know if he had obtained any investiture from the Khalifah. But the use of this title leaves no doubt that he thought himself subordinate, in some way, to him. Unlike the Ghazni coins, his Indian issues had short spaces to record long legends on them as most part of the spaces were occupied by pictorial motifs. It is likely that for this reason he adopted this device in lieu of writing the long legend expressing his allegiance to the Khalifah.

Some of the coins minted there bear his name as “Muhamamd Same” instead “*Muhamamd Sam*”. This is a slight variation without any significance. These coins have dotted border on both the faces. They may be treated as the second variety of this type.

There is a third variety of this type where the dotted circles are eliminated from both the faces. No trident mark is seen on the hump of the bull on the obverse, but a crescent is additionally placed under the horse on the reverse.

A fourth variety of this type is also seen which is similar to the second variety of the above coin with the only exception that the Sanskrit word “Sri” in Nagari is replaced by the Arabic word “Sikandar” on the bull side (obverse).

2.5 Kanauj and Bayana

At Kanauj and Bayana the rulers had their coins in gold which had Lakshmi on one side (obverse) and the legend in bold Nagari letters on the other (reverse). These coins were related to a different tradition which was introduced first by Gangeyadeva (1015-1040 AD) the Kalachuri King of Tripuri (Dahala). His coins are found in large quantities with many variety of obverse motifs. It is believed by the scholars that his coinage continued even after his death and were issued posthumously for quite a long time.⁴⁵

Like some other Rajput rulers of Northern India this very type was followed by Govindachandra (1114-1154 AD), the Gahadavala king of Kanauj and also by Kumarapala, the Yadu (or Yadava) king of Bayana.⁴⁶ The coins of the two may, apart from their legends, be distinguished by themselves by certain differences in the depiction of the goddess Lakshmi. The most prominent one is the presence of a beaded garland on the coins of Kumarapala and it is conspicuously absent on those of Govindachandra. There is also a marked differences in delineating the hands, while on the former the hands are naturally places, they appear detached on the coins of the latter. In metallic composition and weight they also differ. The Kanauj coins are of trimettalic being composed of gold, silver and copper and they weigh 4.13 gms / 63.72 gns, but those of Bayana are bimetallic having a mixture of gold and silver and they weigh 3.90 gms / 60.18 gns.

When Muhammad Ghauri occupied these two territories he issued gold coins in the follow of their local coinage. On them the same differences are very well marked.

In Kanauj the ruler of the Gahadavala dynasty whom Muhamamd Ghauri defeated, was Jayachandra (1174-1194 AD). He seemed not have issued any coin on his own name but in the name of his grandfather Govindachandra posthumously. They were the current coins of country which seemed to be issued from Banaras (Kasi). Muhammad Ghuri's coins here followed these coins of Govindachandra. Of the four varieties of

Govindachandra's coins one was "large in size but the legs of the seated goddess Lakshmi on its was not visible".⁴⁷ This variety seemed to be the prototype of Muhamamd Ghuri's coin. Like it his coins have on one side (obverse) the stylized representation of the seated goddess Lakshmi. The deity sits frontally, she has four arms. Her two lower arms look natural and are spread out at her sides, the upper two arms seemed to be detached from the body and are represented by two bow-like curved lines with points outward. There are two big dots at the two sides of the deity. The mouth and chin mixed together and shaped like crescent. The *tikka* (brow-mark), eyes and nose form a cluster or cross of dots. Two ears shown by two short vertical lines have two big dots at their lower and representing ear-rings. The abdomen is represented by a long crescent and the belly by a circle, the hole within the circle indicates the navel. Her breasts are prominent. She wears on her head a nimbus (i.e., *probhamadala*), the dots forming the hole are twelve in number and are placed in arch-shape, but its parts are out of flan; beneath the dots in an arched-line which spans in the end. The girdle (*biccha*) round her waist has seven beads. On the other side (reverse) of the prototype Govindachandra's name in three lines with the similar squarish and bold letters. On Govindachandra's coin the legend is followed by a symbol of *trisul* (trident) or a *padma* (lotus flower) which has been replaced here by two vertical strokes.

In Bayana the prototype of Muhamamd Ghauri's coins were those of Kumarapala whom he had defeated there. The four arms of the seated goddess Lakshmi on these coins of Muhammad Ghauri, like the prototype, are attached to the body of the deity but are spread out straight to the outside. She wears a beaded necklace which we do not see on the Kanauj coins. The two dots indicating the ear-rings are smaller. The forehead is represented by a horizontal curve line with the points downwards and touching the lines for ears. The eyes are represented by two dots, and nose by a very small vertical line. The mouth and chin mixed together and shaped like a short horizontal line. The nimbus is mostly out of flan. The other details of the deity are same as on the Kanauj coins. On the other

side of the prototype Kumarapala's name is written in three lines of Nagari letters, but the letters here are not so bold and squarish as they are on Kanauj coins. (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No. 5). Muhammad Ghauri has followed this pattern strictly and wrote his name as "*Sri ma hamir Muhammad Sam*" which is slightly different from that on his Kanauj coins. Here "*ma*" and "*hamir*" is additionally included in the legend after "*Srī*" with the exclusion of "*bin*" between "*Muhammad*" and "*Sam*". "*Sri ma*" indicates that the intended word here was "*Srimat*" is the Sanskritized form of the Arabic word "*amir*" as is seen on Delhi coins. It is not certainly known why this change was done in the legend of these coins. It may be assumed that it was done to distinguish between the two coinages of the two places (viz., Kanauj and Bayana).

The Kanauj coins of Muhammad Ghauri, discovered so far, all belong to a single variety. This shows that they were issued once and by one set of dies only. This is indicative of the short-period operation of this mint and therefore, corroborates the contemporary history of the place. It is stated that when Muhammad Ghauri left Kanauj, Harishchandra, the successor Jayachandra, reoccupied the eastern part of the kingdom including Banaras. This certainly caused to discontinue the Ghaurid mint there. Afterwards, though Aibak reconquered it, he did not reopen the mint.

The Bayana coins of Muhammad Ghauri are of these varieties distinguishable from the depiction of the beaded necklace seen variously on different coins, such as three, four or five and hence the varieties showing three beads.

2.6 Badaun

Muhammad Ghauri retired to Ghazni in 592 AH/1196 AD after the invasion of Gwalior leaving Qutab uddin Aibak, a slave of his own as well as his army general, to act as his viceroy at Delhi and to control the conquered Indian territories. From now the military expeditions, that were undertaken in India were guided by this viceroy and not by Muhammad

Ghauri himself. It was by him that Badaun was conquered in 597 AH/1196 AD and Iltutish was appointed governor there. Lakhanapala, the last Rashtrakuti ruler of the place did not issued any coin in his own name. There, the current coins were those issued in the name of this predecessor Amritapala. His coins though are in the tradition of the bull and horseman type of the Shahis, had some characteristics of their own. Here we have an additional ladder like device on the bull side above the king's name at the top and the name is written in a straight line much different from the coins of other places. The horseman on the other side is also very much different in its depiction. It has become a complex geometric pattern which may well be distinguished by its stylistic form from those seen on the coins of Delhi, Ajmer and Lahore. It has similarity only with the that seen in the Narwar coins of a different type.

Muhamamd Ghauri's coins issued from Badaun followed the pattern of Amritapala's coinage. Like the prototype his coins have on the obverse the ladder-like device at the top, beneath which is the name of the Sultan as "*Muhammad Sam*" in Nagari in straight line. Under it, we have the recumbent bull facing left. On the reverse is the stylized horseman to right depicted in the same pattern as on the coins of amritapala. The Delhi coins of Muhamamd Ghauri have on the side his title "Sri hamirah" (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No. 6), which we do not see on these Badaun coins.

His Badaun coins, so far discovered, are all of a single type, but they may be distinguished into five varieties by some minor variations on their obverse. The first variety has a sword with two dots, to right of the hump of the bull. On the second, we have only the sword without dot. On the third variety the sword is eliminated and replaced by a circle. The fourth variety is almost similar to the first one except that the last part of the king's name "Sam" is written in the top line. On the fifth variety the word "*Sam*" is written to right of the hump of the bull replacing the sword / circle.

All the Badaun coins of Muhamamd bin Sam, known so far, are only in billion.

2.7 Bengal

The Ghaurid conquest of Bengal was made by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bhakhtiyar Khalji, a young general of Muhammad Ghuri, in the month of Ramza, 601 AH/1205 AD. Before this invasion Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar had met Qutab uddin Aibak, the Ghaurid viceroy of India, while the latter was busy with the Badaun campaign.⁴⁸ Afterwards, he marched towards Bengal and conquered its north-west part called Gauda.

The Sena kings ruling in Bengal at that time had no coin of their own.⁴⁹ Some local coins are reported to have been issued in southern and eastern part of the country,⁵⁰ but none in Gauda areas. Cowrie-shells were the sole currency there which were used in all kinds of transactions. This is attested by the statement of the 9th century, Arab Geographer Sulaiman who says, "Trade is carried on by means of cowries, which are the current money of the country". Minhaj also speaks in the same language. This statement is also proved by the fact that not a single coin of any king of his dynasty has come to light so far.

After the conquest of Gauda Muhamamd bin Bakhtiyar issued coins there in the name of his master Sultan Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam. a few gold coins of these issues have been discovered. They supply us some valuable information which we do not get in the contemporary chronicles. The date of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar's conquest of Gauda is one of them. Minhaj is the only chronicler who narrated this campaign, but did not mention its precise date. He stated that the following year after that (i.e., meeting with Aibak), Muhamamd-e-Bakhityar caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Bihar and suddenly appeared before the city of Nadia. His vague statement led the modern historian to assume different dates for the event. Charles Steward⁵¹ and E. Thomas suggested the date⁵² as 1203-4 AD, Raverty, 1194 AD, Blockman, 1198/1199 AD,

Manmohan chakravarty, 1199-1200 AD, R.D. Banjeree and K.R. Qanungo, 1200 AD, N.K. Bhattasali, 1202 AD and A.H. Dani, 1204 AD.

However, the more reliable information is supplied by an inscription of Lakshmana Sena dated 1203 AD (600 AH) which speaks of a great sacrifice (Yajna) called Aidri Mahasanti to propitiate the gods for help in averting an impending catastrophe. This impending catastrophe on Lakshmana Sena could not have been anything else than the invasion of Muhamamd bin Bakhityar Khalji over Nadia. The circle is the Arabic legend "*Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Muhammad bin sam*" (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No. 7).

This type of coins, known so far, are only three. The first that came to be known earliest, is now in the Delhi Museum. It is recorded by H.N. Wright in his corpus. The second one is in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. and is noticed by P.L. Gupta. These are the commemorative coins issued in the event of the conquest of Gauda (Bengal) which is borne out from the Nagari legend "Gauda Vijoye".

2.8 Technology of Indian Coinage

Information about the technical aspects of minting during Sulatanate period is supplied by the surviving coins and a few minting implements, some documents and writing including the Dravyapariksha by Thakkur Pheru. The source indicate die striking technique.⁵³

- 1) Purifying (sodhana) silver and mixed metal or alloys (constituting of silver, lead and copper).

- 2) Testing (chasamya = chasanika) the (degree of purity of) metals. Gentel firing of the required quantity of the metal concerned together with other prescribed materials was necessary for this purification. In this process of firing at a low temperature wind was blowed into fire through a blowpipe (*vamkanali*, the name of which literally meaning 'curved pipe').

Apparently the impure metals at the mints of the Delhi Sultans were purified and their purity tested following the methods described in the *Dravyapariksha*. It appears from the evidence of other sources, that the

purified metal ingots were metal was then cast in moulds of the size of the intended coins or into sheets to be cut into pieces confirming to the size of the required coins. The blanks were latter placed one after another on an placed the punch – die and the latter was truck with a hammer. As a result each blank received the impressions of the devices engraved in negative on the dies and was transformed into a coin.

The techniques adopted in far scattered Sultanate mints for the minting of coins was almost the same. Thus, the technique basically involved purification of metal ingots melted together with prescribed quantities of alloy material. The extracted molten metal was than cast into mould of the size of the intended coins or into the sheets that were cut into pieces confirming to the size of the required coins. The acquired blanks punch having another die and struck hard with a hammer. Eventually, the blank receiving the impression of the devices engraved in negative on the die got transformed into a coin.

It is obvious from forgoing discussion on the method of minting in early medieval that the practice of producing coins with the help of two dies and a striking of material (like hammer) once introduced became increasingly popular and the most effective mode of manufacture. The basic idea and method has remained the same through centuries, though the detals have changed with increasing degree of sophistication and exactitude.]

CHAPTER – I

THE GHAURID INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS METROLOGY

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CHAPTER – II

COINAGE OF THE TURKS

1. Historical Background

Before Iltutmish, two Turki Sultans ascended the throne of Delhi. They are Qutb uddin Aibak and Aram Shah. Though their rule has no bearing on the numismatic history of India, yet their activities should be discussed here in a nutshell to remove confusions of some scholars.

1.1 Qutab uddin Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.)

Muhammad Ghauri had no male issue.¹ So, after his death his vast empire splitted into three parts each one of which took the form of an independence kingdom. Mahmud, his nephew as well as the son of his elder brother, Ghiyas uddin Muhammad, could have his sway only over his original ancestral territory of Ghaur with which he remained content. Taj uddin Yalduz, one of his eminent slaves, whom he had appointed as governor of Kuraman, occupied the entire territory that was within his governorship and added to it the province of Gazni. The Indian conquered territories fell to his regal title more than "malik" or "siphasalar".² We are told by the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* that Qutab uddin issued coins and read Khutbah in his own name, but no coin bearing his name so far been discovered that can be definitely attributed to him. If he had issued any coin it would have been in his master's name.

Sultan however, some scholars have tried to attribute a few coins to him. In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Minhaj has started that Muhammad, the nephew of Muhammad bin Sam, conferred on Qutab uddin Aibak the title of Sultan. Here its translator Revery has added a footnote as follows:

"It is stated in another work, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, that Qutb uddin ascended the throne at Lahore on the 11th of Rab'ul Ul-awwal, 603 AH. and that he read the *Khutbah*, for himself, and coined money in his own name, and yet, although the coins of others are, comparatively, so plentiful, it is stated that not one bearing the name of Qutab uddin has ever been found. A work in my possession, however, which contains specimen of the different coins of the Sultans of Hind, with the legend they are said to have borne, gives the following as a specimen of Qutab uddin's coin.

*Sikhah waris mulk wan akin Sultan Qutab uddin Aibak fi sanah 603
zarb dar ul-khilafat Delhi julus."*

Qutab uddin may or may not have assumed the title of Sultan but it is almost certain that the unnamed book which Raverty has referred to, as mentioning the text of the legend of Qutb uddin's coins, is on the very face absurd. The "*Dar-ul-Khilafat*" for Delhi was first used only by Mubarak Khalji in 717³ A.H. and the term "julus" was applied first by the Mughal emperor Jahangir.⁴ The other content of the alleged text is not in the conformity with the text known the contemporary or even later coinage of India. The date of Qutab uddin's accession mentioned in this work is different from what we know from contemporary sources. So, it is entirely the imagination of the author. No coin with such legend can be conceived for Qutab uddin.

Jagannath Agrawal⁵ has tried to attribute some bull and horseman type silver coins of Qutab uddin Aibak which had been earlier attributed to Khudavayaka of the Hindu Sahi dynasty. He has pointed out that in the *Palam Baoli* inscription, a Delhi king is mentioned as Khuduvadin after Shihab uddin. He takes that Shihab uddin here must be Muhammad bin Sam and the next king Qutab uddin Aibak is referred to in this inscription as Khudivadin. He suggests that like-wise in Khudavayaka of these coins "Khuduva". Thus, according to him "Khuduvayaka" is the contraction of Qutab uddin Aibak. This suggestion undoubtedly an indigenous one and could have been taken seriously, had there not been the fact before us

that after Sultan Muhmud of Ghazni no ruler of north western India including Muhammad bin Sam had issued any coin in silver. All the coins are known only billon. Moreover, the motif of horseman and bull during all these periods were in outline, while on Khudavayaka coin it is in realistic form which is seen only on the coins of the Shahi Kings like Spalpatideva, Samantadeva and others. So, if the coin in reference was issued by a Muslim ruler it would have been only in their proximity. So it is not possible in any manner to say that these coins have any relation with Qutab uddin Aibak.

H.N. Wright had listed in his corpus a few copper coins which have on the obverse standing bull to let and on the reverse the Arabic word "Al-Qutbi" written within a rayed circle.⁶ On the basis of the word (i.e., al-Qutbi) he attributed these coins to Qutab uddin Aibak.

Here it is to be noticed that Qutab uddin had a reign of 4 years, yet we do not get any of his coin in billon while the billon coins were the normal currency of this period and rulers having much shorter reign than him had issued coins in this metal. The absence of this coins in billon by itself raised doubt as to the very existence of this own coin. Now, for whatsoever reason, when he did not issue any coin in the higher metal like billon, which was more in demand, it is difficult to think that he would have issued any coin in still baser metal like copper whose circulations was limited. Thus, the coins which H.N. Wright attributes to Qutab uddin Aibak do not appear to have been issued by him.

Again, the tradition of standing bull motif on coins was prevalent only in the province of Peshwar since the time of the later Ghaznavid rulers. In other places it was recumbent. Muhammad Ghauri strictly followed the old tradition. On his Delhi, Badaun and Lahore coins the bull was recumbent, and only on Peshwar and Kuraman coins, it was standing. This area (i.e., Peshwar and Kuraman) during the period under review was under the control of Taj uddin Yalduz and not of Qutab uddin Aibak. If Qutab uddin would have issued any coin he could have

undoubtedly copies the coins that his master had issued from Delhi and Lahore, and would not have gone far off to find out a prototype of his coins in a territory that was not within this control. So, it is extremely doubtful that these coins were issued by Qutab uddin Aibak. The mention of the word "*Al-Qutbi*" does not necessarily mean that it was issued only by Qutab Uddin Aibak and no one else. Here it may be pointed out that "*Al-Qutbi*" as a title was used for Iltutmish on his coins issued from Bengal. Most likely these coins belonged to him.

1.2 Aram Shah (1210 A.D.)

On the sudden death of Qutab uddin Aibak, the amirs and maliks of Lahore put Aram Shah on the throne. His relationship with the deceased Sultan is controversial. * Under such circumstances the nobles of Delhi invited Shams uddin Iltutmish, the son-in-law of Qutab uddin Aibak as well as the governor of Badaun, to take over the throne. He readily accepted the invitation and marched on Delhi. Aram Shah advanced from Lahore for resistance but was defeated and killed. His rule lasted only for eight months. Like his predecessor no coins of Aram Shah have come to light as yet. It may be that he also issued coins in the name of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam posthumously.

1.3 Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211-1235 A.D.)

On his accession to the throne Iltutmish found that during the weak rule of his predecessor, Aram Shah, most of the distance was areas of empire had gone out of control. Nasir uddin Qubacha, the governor of Multan revolted and captured a large area including Lahore and Bhatinda upto Sursuti.⁹ Govindaraja, the Chauhan king of Ranthambhor, defied the Delhi vassalage and became independent. The Pratiharas (or Pariharas) occupied Gwalior, Jhansi, and Narwar. The Chauhans of Jalor captured a large area of South-West Rajputana. The Vaduvamsi or Jadonvattis

* According to some historians he was the son of Qutb uddin Aibak, but to others, he was not.

established their control over Alwar, Thankir (Bayana), and Ajmer. 'Ali Mardan Khalji revolted in Bengal. Besides, Taj uddin Yalduz of Ghazni, as a successor of Muhammad Ghuri, was claiming suzerainty over the Indian territories.¹⁰ Thus, towards the end of Aram Shah's reign, the Sultanate was reduced to a small principality consisting of Delhi, Meerut, Badaun, Kol (modern Aligarh), part of Kanauj and its surroundings. So on his accession, Iltutmish got possession of this small principality under his control.

At the beginning Iltutmish's position was insecure and he was unable to take action at once against the rebels. So, for the time being he thought it wise to make an agreement with Nasir uddin Qubacha¹¹ and to acknowledge the suzerainty of Taj uddin Yalduz of Ghazni. But when he found his position consolidated and secured he shook off his allegiance to Taj uddin Yalduz and in combat in 612 AH/1215 AD, he captured him and put him into the prison of Badaun where he later died. Thus Iltutmish became his own master at Delhi. In 614 AH/1217 AD Nasir uddin Qubacha violated the agreement and tried to occupy Sirhind. Iltutmish got a plea. He marched against Qubacha and snatched Lahore from him, but he could not retain it for long. In 617 AH/1220 AD, Jalal uddin Mangbarni, the crown prince of Khawariz, occupied Lahore. It was only after three years that Iltutmish could annex Lahore to his kingdom in 620 AH/1224 AD. Next year (i.e., 1225 AD) he occupied Multan and Sindh brought an end to Qubacha.

In Bengal 'Ali Mardan Khalji, who had revolted under Arab Shah, was killed by the Khalji amirs, and Husamuddin Iwaz was put on the throne in about 611 AH/1213 AD. In 614 AH/1217 AD Iltutmish asserted his overlordship over Bengal and Iwaz readily submitted to him.* But two years later, he became independent on 12 Zulq'ad, 616 AH/December, 1219¹² AD. He remained independent for about three years and Iltutmish could not take any action against him till 619 AH/1222 AD. In 619 AH/1222

* This is established from his issuing gold coins in 614 AH in the name of Iltutmish.

AD. Iltutmish marched against Iwaz. The latter humbly accepted his subordination and agreed to pay an indemnity. But as soon as the Delhi forces retire he again asserted his independence.¹³ In 624 AH/1226-27 AD, Iltutmish sent his son Nasir uddin Mahmud to Bengal against Iwaz. This time Iwaz was killed and Nasir uddin Mahmud was appointed as governor. After Nasir uddin's death towards the close of 627 AH/1229 AD Dawlat Shah bin Maudud became the governor. During him one Balka Khalji occupied Bengal. He was soon trounced. Now the province of Bengal was bifurcated and governor was appointed in Lakhnauti and another in Bihar.

After this, Iltutmish turned his attention towards the south. His expeditions towards this direction brought him back the lost territories of Ranthambhor, Jalhor, Bayana (Tangir) and Gwalior. Thus Iltutmish not only reconquered all the lost territories of the Sultanate but also added to it lower Sindh. However, after consolidating his kingdom Iltutmish most likely represented to the Khalifah of Baghdad for an investiture from him. A representative from the Khalifah arrived at Delhi on 22nd Rab'I I, 626 A.H / February 1229 AD and brought robe of honour and letter of investiture confirming him in the sovereignty of Hindustan with the title of "*Sultan al'azam*" (the great Sultan).

For the convenience of administration Iltutmish had formed a group of forty amirs of his own clan to look after the state of affairs. This group was known in history as "*Bandagane Chehalgan*" or "The members of the Forty", shortly "The Forty". This body exercised great influence in the later history of the Sultanate.

After a long reign of 25 years Iltutmish died in 1235 A.D.

2. Coinage

[The successor of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri at Delhi, Qutab uddin Aibak and Aram Shah, did not issue any coin in their own names,] as stated above. [As such their rule had no impact on the numismatic history

of the country. After Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri, Iltutmish was the first Delhi Sultan to reorganize the coinage. His coins from Delhi, Lahore, Kuraman, Badaun and Bengal have been discovered. The earliest coins were issued in billon and copper. In later days he also struck some gold and silver coins. His gold coins were issued only from Gauda (Bengal) and silver coins from Gauda (Bengal) and Delhi mints.]

2.1 Billon

The billon coins were of great demand in North India during the period under review. Iltutmish issued most of this coins in this metal which had varieties of types and design. [They were issued mainly from Delhi and Lahore and a few from Badaun and Kurman.] None was struck in Bengal as the coins of this metal were not in vogue there. His billon coins issued from the above mints, so far discovered, are discussed below.

Delhi

Iltutmish issued his earliest coins from Delhi, and they were in billon. They followed the bull and horseman type in the continued traditions that had earlier been copied by Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri. [As on Mu'iz uddin's coins, here too Iltutmish name placed on the bull side as *Surifana Sri Samasadina* and on the horseman side the title "Sri Hamirah" both Nagari.¹⁴] (Cat No. 3, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.9). [Suritana Sri Samasadina is the Sanskrit rendition of "Sultan Sri Shams uddin". It may be mentioned here that the 'alam (proper name) of the Sultan was Iltutmish and his *laqab* (title) was Shams uddin'. Here only his *laqab* is written and not the 'alam. The reasons for the exclusion of his 'alam on these coins seems to be nothing except the shortage of space.]

These coins may be distinguished into two series by a minor distinction which is noticed on rump of the bull. On one series *trishula* (trident) is seen in several forms with slight variations.¹⁵ This *trishula* (trident) is not exclusive on Iltutmish's coins. It is also seen on a large number of earlier coins issued in the name of Spalapatideva and

Samantadeva.¹⁶ On the second series we have the Nagari numerals replacing the trishula (trident). The numerals, so far noticed on his coins are 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 89 and 90.¹⁷ These numerals too are not exclusive on his coins. They were also noticed earlier on the coins of the Tomara ruler Anagapala,¹⁸ the previous ruler of Delhi. So, both the series have no innovation of Iltutmish of his own. But it is difficult to postulate as to why he followed the old tradition and issued two distinct series from one and the same mint?

As regards, the numeral series it is suggested by Nelson Wright that they possibly indicate the year of issue. According to him the figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 may be the unit figures of the Samvat eras 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287 and 1289 and 1290. These years undoubtedly fall in the reign of Iltutmish. So, to this extent his suggestion is very much attractive. It held its grounds so long the coins of Anagapala were unknown. But the figures found on his (i.e., Anagapala's) coins can not be interpreted as representing any Samvat years that fall during this reign.¹⁹

Iltutmish also issued a another variety of his bull and horseman type of billon from this Delhi mint. They have similarity with the first variety (series) on the device of trishula (trident) on the hump of the bull. The only noticeable change is that the legend "Suritana Sri Samsadina on the bull side is replaced here by his 'alam (proper name), Iltutmish, spelt in Nagari as "Iltititmas", which is not seen in full on any of the known specimens.

Thereafter he issued a reformed type of billon coins on which the bull motif was eliminated and instead of the Arabic legend "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din*" was written at the centre within a single square and the mint-name, "Delhi" also in Arabic, in the upper segment.²⁰ On the horseman side the Nagari "Sri Hamirah" is replaced by a short Arabic legend bearing his name "Iltutmish al-Sultan" written to right and above the horse. On a still different variety of this type of the mint-name Dehli was written in the left marginal segment instead of upper one.²¹

On, the other variety of this type the reverse was retained intact, but some minor changes were made on the obverse. Here the central area, unlike the former variety, was enclosed by three concentric single circles with gaps in between creating two successive marginal spaces around. In the central area the name "Iltutmish" was retained and the regal title "Al-Sultan" was shifted to the inner margin around it where a new legend was written including this title which was "*Al-Sultan al-'azam abu'l muzaffar...*" in the other margin there were also some inscriptions which seemed to have been the name of the mint and date of issues as seen on the first variety, but here they were cut off.

After receiving the investiture from the *Khalifah* of Baghdad in 626 AH/1229 AD. Iltutmish issued some commemorative cons in the name of the *Khaifah*. They followed the "bull and horseman type" and were distinguished into two varieties. One had the Nagari legend "*Sri Shalifah*" (= *Sri Khalifah*) on the bull side and "*Sri Hamirah*" on the horseman side. There was a sub-variety of these coins where a "plus mark" was put under the hump of the bull.

On the second variety of this type the name and title of the *Khalifah* "*Mustansr amir li mu'minin*" was written in Nagari on the bull side replacing "*Sri Shalifah*" and "*Sri Shalifah*" was shifted to the horseman side where it was put in place of "*Sri Hamirah*".²² There were two sub-varieties of these coins.

He also issued some copper and silver coins from this (Delhi) mint which will be discussed in the proper place.

Before we moved to this other coinage issued other places, it is necessary to discuss two types of coins that were attributed to this king by Princep, Edward Thomas,²³ A. Cunningham and H.N. Wright. Of course two types one had the motif of recumbent bull with the legend "*Asavari Sri Samasoraladivi*" on the side (Obverse) and the horseman with "*Sri Chahadadiva*" on the side (reverse). The other type had the same legend

"Asavari Sri Samasoraladivi" on the bull side (Obverse) and "Sri hamirah" on the horseman side (reverse) instead of "*Chahadadeva*". The legend "*Samasoraladivi*" on these coins was taken by the above scholars as imperfect spelling of Shams uddin thereby they attributed these coins to Iltutmish. But here it should be realized that Iltutmish's other coins do not have similarly outlined name in the sense of "Asavari Sri Samsoraladivi". Of 29 varieties of his coins listed in Wright's corpus, 25 varieties record his name as "*Suritana Sri Samasadin*". It is, therefore, unconceivable why should his name be spelt in this peculiar way only on these two coins. This by itself makes the attribution of these coins to Iltutmish extremely doubtful.

Above scholars remarked that the first coins indicated to the fact that the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultan was acknowledged by the local Hindu Raja named Chahadadeva. But no attempt was ever made to locate properly who Chahadadeva was. Recently John, S. Deyell in his thesis entitled "Living without Silver, The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India" has made an attempt in this direction. It would be no better than to summarize what he has said about the identification of this Hindu ruler, Chahadadeva that "through examination of a broad range of evidence brings to light the existence of Chahadadeva, Chauhan ruler of Delhi, Dhilika or Indraprastha from C.AD 1170-1191. Specific elements in this identification are the following.

Statistical analysis of the relative quantitative composition of coin hoards indicates that the Chahadadeva "bull and horseman" coins were issued previous to those of Muhammad bin Sam. Since these later are known from a mule to have commenced immediately on the conquest of Delhi in A.D. 1193, Chahada reigned before that date.

From a consideration of his coin legends we find that Chahada was a Chauhan. Further his coins circulated in the Northern Rajasthan-Western Uttar Pradesh region which was congruent with the area of Chauhan political authority. Comparison of the metrology of these coins

confirms that they were issued before those of Muhammad bin Sam. A careful comparison of coins fabric and metrology establishes that some of Chahada's coins were contemporary with the Chauhan ruler Somesvara deva (c. 1170-1178 A.D.), while others were contemporary with the Chauhan ruler Prithviraja III (c. 1178-1192 A.D.). The Rathaul plate inscriptions and its circumstances of find indicate that Chahada was an heir-apparent, the Chauhan governor or tributary king of Delhi region, in the time of his suzerain, Prithviraja III. The *Dravya Pariksha* makes him a ruler of Delhi in succession to Prithviraja. The narrowest time-parameters for Chahada's reign as king of Delhi, on the basis of Rathaul plate, would then be the 1178-1191 A.D. This may be extended back to 1170 A.D. (commencement of Somesvara's reign) on the strength of numismatic evidence. It may be extended forward to 1193 A.D. Chahada was succeeded by Govinda Rai in the government of Delhi before 1192 A.D. He accompanied Prithviraja II in both the battles of Terain fought against Muhammad Ghori in 1191 and 1192 A.D. respectively and in the last one he was slain.

Thus it is clear that no Chahadadeva existed during the time of Iltutmish. So, this coin has nothing to do with Iltutmish.

The same may be said about the other coins which is known by a single specimen reported to have been in the collection of Princep. Edward Thomas and H.N. Wright referred to the same coin but none of them including Princep illustrated it. The coin even does not exist in the British Museum collection with the reminder of Princep's 'bull and horseman' coin from the India office collection. So its very existence is doubtful. Even if it existed it might be a mule and the coin should be placed in the period earlier or contemporary with Muhammad bin Sam when the title "Sri hamirah" in the horseman side also existed.

Kuraman

Kuraman was out of Iltutmish's control for a long time in the early years of his reign. It was only after 621 A.H./1220 A.D. that the place came under his away when Lahore was permanently occupied. A few coins with the name of Iltutmish having traditional Kuraman (Peshawar) type of horseman leaves no doubts that they were issued from this mint. These coins bear on one side the horseman to left with spear at charge, and on the other, four lines of Arabic legend disclosing the name and title of the sultan as "*Al-Sultan al-azam Iltutmish Al-Sultan*" E. Thomas²⁴ and H.N. Wright identified them as of billon while John S. Deyell called them as of copper. The coins might have contained very small percentage of silver which during long war and tear disappeared and looked coppery. The extreme rarity of these coins indicates to the short-time operation of this mint.

Badaun

Besides, the above coins from Delhi, Lahore and Kuraman, Iltutmish also issued some billon coins from Badaun. These coins are easily distinguishable from those of other mints by the very peculiar pattern of the horseman that was the traditional type of Badaun as was noticed earlier on the coins of Amritapala and followed by Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Gauri. They adopted on their coins bull on one side and the horseman on the other. But unlike them Iltutmish copies has only the horseman, and instead of bull he put on this side the Arabic legend in formula that we see on his Lahore coins. This shows, on the one hand, the influence of Lahore coins on them, and on the other hand, the late opening of the Badaun mint. It is quite possible that after the loss of Lahore in 617 A.H. / 1220 A.D. Iltutmish might have continued the issuance of "horseman and Arab legend type" from Badaun mint.

It is surprising that Iltutmish issued coins from Badaun at such a very late date, while he^{*} was closely associated with that place from the very beginning.²⁵ It would have been natural for him to issue coins from this place along with those of Delhi. However, it would be difficult to assign these coins to Badaun merely on the form of the horse, had there not been the testimony of Thakkur Pheru that Raziya, the daughter of Shams uddin (Iltutmish), also issued one variety of coins from this place and her those coins are similar to these issues of Iltutmish.

However, Iltutmish's Badaun coins bear the motif of horseman on one side (reverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (obverse) which is close to the legends that is seen on the coins of Lahore, as told earlier. These coins may be distinguished into several variety by their minor differences in the legend. On one variety the legends is *Sham al-duniya wa al-din abu'l-muzaffar Iltutmish at-Sultan*. On a third variety of the type the legends is more squeezed. It is "*Al-Sultan Al-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din.*"

2.2 Gold and Silver

[No gold or silver coin of Iltutmish was known during the first seven years of his reign. It was only in 614 AH/1217 AD that some coins in these two metals were issued for the first time in his name from Gauda in Bengal.]

Of gold only two coins of this sultan have so far been discovered. One of them is acquired by the American Numismatic society (ANS, Washington D.C.) it was issued in 614 AH/1217 AD. The other specimen discovered possibly from the fort of Bihar in a hoard of 37 coins in the last quarter of 19th century AD. The coin along with the other specimens of the hoard came into the hands of Colonel Guthrie through Major Stubbs and ultimately found its way into the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (KFM). Berlin, it issued in 616 AH/1219 AD. Both the coins followed the pattern of

* He was the governor of this province before his becoming Sultan.

Muhammad bin Sam's Guada Vijoya commemorative gold tankahs which were issued earlier by his general Ikhtiyar uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Like their prototype these two coins of Iltutmish have on their one side (reverse) the motif of horseman to left in the centre within a circle. The rider holds a mace in his right hand brandishing aloft and in his left hand the reign of horse. He wears a turban on his head hanging its long skirt backward. The horse is in galloping pose. In the marginal space around it, is the date of issue in Arabic words. Besides, the date, there is also the Kalimah (*La ilaha illa allah Muhammed urrasul Allah*) in Arabic which is not seen on the prototype. On the prototype a smaller part of the marginal legends is written in Nagari which is dropped here.

The other side (obverse) of the coins contains the Arabic legend bearing the name and titles of sultan similar to that on the prototype. Although the two coins of Iltutmish look alike outwardly. They differ slightly in the text of their legends. On the ANS specimen the legend is "*al-Sultan al-mu'azzam shams al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish al-qutbi nasir amir al-mu'minin*" written in four lines'. The KFM specimen contains almost the same legend except the word "nasir" after "al-qutbi" which is replaced here by the word "burhan", and that the text of the legend is written in five lines instead of four.²⁶

On both the coins the sultan assumes the regal title "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam" (the great sultan) and not "al-Sultan 'al-azam' (the greatest Sultan). The reason has already been explained elsewhere in connection with the coins of Muhammad bin Sam. The title "*al-mu'azzam*" is not used here for comparison, so it does not signify his inferior status. Moreover, the formula which was set up by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji for the obverse legend of Mu'iz uddin's Gauda vijoye commemorative gold coins,

* The word "nasir" is damaged on this gold coin but it is reconstructed from the identical silver coin.

has been adopted by his successors in Bengal including Iltutmish without any change. There too the same "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam" was used.

The most striking peculiarity of these coins is that here the Sultan is entitled as "al-qutbi" which may refer to his original position as a freed slave of Qutb uddin Aibak whose son-in-law he subsequently became, or to the fact that he belonged to the "Qub" faction of the court nobles as opposed to the "Mu'izi".²⁷

The mint-name of the KFM specimen written in Arabic in the field below the horse is read by the scholars variously as "*ba-Gauda*", "*Nagore*" and "*Lakaur*", and thereby, it is suggested that the coins were issued from "Gauda" in Bengal or "Lakaur" a place near Lakhnauti or "Nagore" in Rajasthan. But in view of Muhammad bin Sam's coins, on which we have exactly at this place, in the margin of the coin. The legend "*Gauda Vijaya*" in Nagari, there remains no scope of confusion. Since no other coins with this type of horseman motif are known from anywhere else it makes it certain that these coins were struck only in Gauda. These coins were issued by Husam uddin's iwaz Khalji acknowledging the Suzerainty of Iltutmish.

[Like gold, the earliest silver coins of Iltutmish were also issued in 614 A.H. / 1217 A.D. from Gauda (Bengal) and these coins have the same obverse and reverse as we see on his gold coins of this date. After two years, the next issues of silver were struck. They were issued from the same mint Gauda. All the coins bearing this date discovered so far may be distinguished into three varieties.]

The coins of the first variety are similar to this gold coins of this date (i.e., 616 A.H.) with regard to their obverse and reverse contents. Those of the second variety are almost similar to the coins of first variety except that the mint name below the horse is dropped here. The coins of the third variety have the same reverse as of the second one but the obverse is slightly different. Here the word "*burhan*" after "*al-qutbi*" is replaced by

"nasir" as we see on the coins of 614 AH / 1217 AD. Another peculiarity of this variety of coins is that a Nagari letter "sa" or "si" is seen above the word "Iltutmish" which may represent "sri."

Like gold, these silver coins were also issued in the name of the Iltutmish by his governor Husan uddin Iwaz Khalji. It is interesting that after the issuance of these coins in 161 AH/1219 AD. Iwaz declared his independence in the very month of Zulq'ad. He assumed a new laqab "Ghiyas uddin" replacing the previous "Husam uddin" and issued some silver coins with this new laqab. It appears that Iwaz discarded that un-Islamic pictorial horseman motif from his coins and followed the patterns of the Ghazni coins of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri where we have the Arabic legend on both sides. He wrote on the obverse the Kalimah and the name of the contemporary. Abbasid Khalifah "Al-Nasir Ldinillah" and on the reverse his own name with the *laqabs and regal* titles.

When Iltutmish subdued Iwaz in 619 AH/1222 A.D., he again started to struck his own coins there. These coins were only in silver and they followed the Islamic pattern introduced by 'Iwaz the previous 'horseman and Arabic legend type of Mu'iz uddin and of his own, was not revived Henceforth the *tankah* coins become free from all kinds of pictorial motifs and took exclusively the Islamic pattern having Arabic legends on both sides, and this style was followed after him by all the sultans of Delhi. From now onward only the silver coins were in use and the issuance of gold coin was stopped until Raziyah revived it.*

However, these new coins of Iltutmish from Gauda have on one of these side the Kalimah and the name of the contemporary 'Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad, and on the other side, his own name including the regal title, *Laqab Kuniyat* and religious appellations. Several series of these coins were issued for which the dies had to be changed from time to time and thereby some minor changes occurred in the arrangement of

* Raziyah's gold coins were also issued from Lakhnauti (Bengal) mint

lines and even in the selection of some words of the reverse legend. These coins bear the date in Arabic words. On many coins the unit digits are damaged which creates problem to ascertain the actual date of their issue. The coins of this type have several varieties distinguishable by their minor variations.

On the variety, the reverse legend is "*al-sultan al-mu' azzam shams al-duniya wa al-din' abu' l muzaffar iltutmish al-sultan, yeminu khalifat allah, nasiru amir al-mu'minin*" written in seven lines. It is remarkable that the previous title 'al-qutbi' has been replaced here by "al-sultani", this new word also gives the meaning of this humble position i.e., "the little sultan", but slightly better than the former one. The adoption of this title is also seen on the coins of sultan Firuz shah Tughlaq (913-1388 AD) of Delhi.²⁸ There too it is used in the same meaning. The use of this new title indicates that earlier when he had assumed "al-qutbi" title. This is corroborated by the actual political history too.

On the second variety of this type the reverse legend is almost the same as on the former, except that the word "*abu*" (in the nominative case) occurred before the word "al-muzaffar" is replaced here by "*aba*" (in the objective case) and the number of lines of the legend has been made six instead of seven.

On a third variety the reverse legend is slightly different. Here the word "*al-mu'azzam*" after "*al-Sultan*" is replaced by "*al-'azzam*", and the word "*abu*" (in the nominative case) occurred before the word "al-muzaffar" is replaced here by "*aba*" (in the objective case) and the number of lines of the legend has been squeezed into five only.

On a fourth variety the reverse legend is slightly different. Here the word "*al-amu'azzam*" after "*al-Sultan*" is replaced by "*al-'azzam*", and the word "*al-Sultani*" after *iltutmish* by "*al-Sultan*". Moreover, the religious epithet "*Yaminu Khalifat Allah*" is dropped here, and the number of lines of the legend has been squeezed into five only. The most striking feature of

his variety of coin is the replacement of "al-mu'azzam" and "al-Sultan" by 'al-azzam" and "al-Sultan" respectively. It is significant. Now he is no more weak. He is most secured and powerful; and this improved statement of the contemporary chroniclers we know that Iltutmish achieved this position in Bengal only in 624 AH/1226 AD, when rebel "Iwaz was finally defeated and killed by his son Nasir uddin Mahmud. These coins seem to have been issued by the latter when he took the charge of the governorship of Bengal after Iwaz.

The above coins bear the name of the 'Abbasid *Khalifah*, *Al-Nasir li dinillah* who was reigning then. This *Khalifah* died in 622 AH/1225 AD and was succeeded by Al-Zahir bi amrillah. The news reached Bengal late. So, Iltutmish's coins with the name of this new *Khalifah* were struck in 624 AH/1227 AD when Zahir was no more in this world. He had died in 623 AH/1226 AD and was succeeded by Al-Mushtansir billah (623-640 AH / 1226-1242 AD).

However, the coins with the name of Zahir have the same obverse and reverse contents as on the above mentioned third variety of coins with the only change in the *Khalifah*'s name on the obverse where Zahir's name is written as *Al-Zahir bi amrillah*. On a second variety of this type of coins with Zahir's name we have the last line the reverse legend as "Al-Sultan nasir" in the centre while the rest part of the legend which is "amir al-mu'minin" is written on top, left and right segments.

The above coins do not bear mint-name on them, but from the circumstantial evidence it appears that till 625 AH/1228 AD all the silver coins were issued only from Bengal.

The year 626 AH/1229 AD was a remarkable one in the reign of Iltutmish. In that year he received the investiture from the Abbasid *Khalifah*, Al-Mustansir billah. This investiture was very much needed for him to legalize his Sultanship here in India. Minhaj informs us that the representative of the *Khalifah* carrying this diploma arrived at Delhi on 22

amir al-mu'minin" in five lines. In the margin on this side we have the mint-name and date in words which are mostly cut off. The date portion is doubtfully read as 632 A.H. on the reverse the legend is "*Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Shams al-duniya wa al-din Abu'l Muzaffar Illutmish at-Sultan nasir amir al-mu-minin*".

On the second variety of this type and obverse legend is written in four lines instead of five and the *Khalifah's* name is seen as "*Al-Mustansir billah*". In the margin there is no legend but a circle of dots. Its reverse is almost similar to that of the first variety except some minor differences in the spelling of the Sultan's name and the shape of the letter "*nun*", and also in the ornamental marks in the segments.

The third variety is the same as the first one with the exceptions that here "*al-mu'azzam*" is replaced by "*al azam*" on the reverse and the name of the Sultan is written in a different spelling. On the fourth variety the reverse is identical with the third one. On its obverse the *Khalifah's* name is written as "*Al-Mustansir billah*" not "*bi-amrillah*". There is a fifth variety of this type where we have the same obverse and reverse on the third variety. Here the obverse marginal legend is more clear which is "*Zuriba nazih'il-shrufah bi-Lakhnauti fi shuhur sanah salasa wa salasina wa sitta miayn*".

Besides, the above varieties [we have a new type of coins issued from Lakhnauti mint which bear the joint names of the Sultan and the governor together on the one and the same coin. It was issued in 629 AH/1232 AD. This coin is the only source from which we came to know that after the death of prince Nasir uddin, one Ala uddin Daulat Shah son of Maudud held the charge of the governorship of Bengal. [He issued this joint coin where he wrote on the obverse the names of the *Khalifah* and of the Sultan as "*Al-Mustansir billah amir al-mu minin al-Sultan an-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din abu'l fah Illutmish al-Sultan burhan amir al-mu'aminin*" and on the reverse "*Al-Sultan al-adil Shahan Shah-i-bazil Ala al-duniya wa al-din abul ghazi Daulat Shah bin Maudud 'azadu Khalifat Allah*"

zahir-u-amir al-muminin" within a single circle. In the margin around it, is also Arabic legend which is partly damaged. The date is read as 629 AH.³²

Delhi

After the issuance of the Khalifah type commemorative silver coins from Delhi mint in 626 AH, the usual *Kalimah* type coins were regularly issued from there. Some of these coins have been discovered. They may be distinguished into several type. On one type the obverse central legend is identical with that on the Lakhnauti coin on the reverse the legend is "*Al-Sutlan al-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din abul muzaffar Iltutmish al-Sultan*" (Cat No. 3, Pl. No. II, Fig. No.10) in four lines. The mint-name Delhi is written in the top segments of both the obverse and reverse. The marginal legends are seen on both the faces. In the obverse margin the legend is the same Quranic verse as we see on Mu'iz uddi's Ghazni coin. In the reverse margin we have the date of issue in Arabic words which was normally on the obverse margin in other varieties of both Delhi and Lakhnauti coins.

Iltutmish also issued another type of tankah coins from Delhi mint which is different from the above *Kalimah* type coins. It bears on the obverse "*Fi ahd al-imam Al-Mustanisri amir al-mu minin*", a legend which we see on the reverse of the Khalifah type commemorative coins issued earlier in 626 A.H. The marginal legend on this side is "*zuriba haza al-fiddah fi balad-il-Hind bi-hazarat Delhi.*" On the reverse *Shams al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish al-Sultan*". The marginal legend of this side is "*Min Khiraj-i-Kanauj wa kaol shuhur sanah isnai wa salasina wa sitta miayh.*" From this marginal legend it is known that this type of coins were issued out of the land tax collected from Kanauj and Kol (Aligarh).

Iltutmish also issued a half *tankah* denomination in silver. It has no marginal space. Its obverse and reverse legends have similarity with the central legends of their counterparts on the above mentioned Delhi and therefore, it seems to have issued from this mint.

2.3 Copper

Copper coins of the Sultani period are very small in sizes. Their flans are too small to accommodate the long legends bearing the name and title of a sultan. Only a few words may be seen on these coins which sometimes create confusion in their attribution to their real issuers. Because, many titles of the Sultans of Delhi are such that they are commonly seen on the coins which are not sufficient for their proper identification. Some coins of Iltutmish also bear such common titles.

The copper coins, so far attributed to Iltutmish, may be divided into two groups viz. (a) those which bear his name, and (b) those which do not bear his name distinctly, but from the legends they appear to have been issued by him. These coins are of several denominations and each denomination has several types and varieties. They are listed below stating their types, names and denominational values.

(a) Coins bearing the distinct name of the Sultan

Sr. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt.	Name and denomination	Ref.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	In dotted circle "Adl al-Sultan"	In dotted circle "Shams al-duniya wa al-din"	3.83 gms	Paika' ka of a jital	Cat No. 4, Pl No. II, Fig No 11
2	"Adl" star above and below	"Shamsi" Arabeque above and below	2.857gms/ 44 gns	Char viswa, 1/5 jital	Cat No 4, Pl No II, Fig No 12
3	In dotted circle "Adl" without stars	Do	3.05 gms/ 47 gns	Do	Cat No 4, Pl No. II, Fig No 13
4	"Adl"	In dotted circle "Shamsi",	2.954gms/ 45.5 gns	Do	Cat No 5, Pl No II, Fig. No 14
7	Do	In dotted circle "Shamsi" star above and below	1.902 gms / 29.3 gns	Du-viswa; 1/10 jital	Cat No 5, Pl No II, Fig No 15
8.	"Iltutmish".	"Al-Sultan"	1.156 gms / 17.8 gns	Sawaya viswa; 1/16 jital	Cat No 5, Pl No II, Fig No.16
9	"Shams".	Rude horseman to right	844 gms / 13 gns.	Viswa; 1/20 jitals	Cat No 6, Pl. No III, Fig No 17

(b) Coins which do not bear Iltutmish's name clearly but seem to have been issued by him

Sr. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt.	Name and denomination	Ref.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	In double circle, outer one of dots- 'Adl-Sultan al-mu' azzam",	In double circle, outer one of dots –"Zuriba bi hazarat Delhi".	4.318-3.669 gms / 55.5-56.5 gns	Paika; ¼ jital	Cat No 6, PI No III, Fig No.18
2.	Do, but without "al" with "mu' azzam	Do	Do	Do	Cat No 6, PI No. III, Fig No 19
3.	In double circle, outer one of dots – "Adl".	In double circle, outer one of dots – "Mulk".	2.857 gms / 44 gns	Do	Cat No. 7, PI. No. III, Fig. No.20
5.	In dotted circle "Adl".	In dotted, circle – "Mulki".	2.663 gms / 41 gns	Do	Cat No. 7, PI No. III, Fig No.21
6.	Within single circle "Adl."	In double circle, outer one of dots "Dehli"	1.98 gms / 30.5 gns	Adhwa, (2½ viswa; 1/8 jital	Cat No 7, PI No III, Fig No 22
7.	In square with loops on each side, "Al-Sultan".	Enclosed as on obverse "Adl."	.7142-.558gms/1 1-8.6gns.	Viswa 1/20 Jittal	Cat No 7, PI. No III, Fig No.23

3. Currency reform, metal and Metrology

[The currency system of the Sultanate of Delhi before Iltutmish was not well-defined. It is known that before the conquest of north India by Muiz uddin Muhammad Ghauri it was divided into many small kingdoms, each one of which had its own coinage. Mu'iz uddin conquered these kingdoms and merged them into one empire, but he did not disturb their currency system. He allowed the continuance of the local character of the currency and issued his own coinage in each territory in the continued traditions and metrology. He issued gold coins from Kanauj and Bayana; and billon and copper coins from Delhi, Badaun, Lahor and Kuraman. In Gauda (Bengal) we did not get any coin, there cowries were the currency. Mu'iz uddin introduced gold coins there. Silver coins were not in vogue in

north India at that time; so, he did not issue any coin in this metal in his Indian territories.

[These coins of Mu'iz uddin which he issued in different territories seemed to have been called by the pre-Muslim names. He is not seen to have given them any new name. The name of *Dehliwal* mentioned by Hasan Nizami is, of course, an Islamic term to indicate "the bull and horseman type coins of Delhi," but this too does not appear to have been an official name given by the Sultan. Most probably it was an unofficial name coined by the early Muslim trader.]

While the above territories were independent kingdoms, before the Gharid occupation, their different coinage were commendable, but when they were merged into one empire, their separate currency created trouble in national integration. One coinage was necessary for the whole empire. But the reform of the diverse currencies and making them on coinage, required a reasonable period which was not covered by the short reign of Mu'iz uddin. So, he left the currency in a disorganized manner. His successors Qutab uddin Aibak and Aram shah did not make any attempt to improve the situation. It was Iltutmish who was the first among the Sultans of Delhi to undertake an effective scheme for the reform of the currency.

[Among his reforms one was the assigning of names to the coins of different metals. He gave the name of *tankah* to the gold as well as silver coins, and *jital* to the billon coins. What name he assigned to the copper coins is not known. He also prescribed standard weights for different coins. One tola (=11.04 gms / 170 gns) weight for a *tankah*, and one *tanka* (3.68 gms / 56.666 gns) weight for a *jital*. The *tankahas* and copper coins of different denominations varies in weights according to their values, but the *jital* of all denominations had the same weight (of one *tanka*); their values were assessed on the basis of silver contents.]

[Iltutmish's coins of all the four metals viz., gold, silver, billon and copper, have been discovered. Only two specimen of his gold coins are known so far. They are $\frac{2}{5}$ tankhas. Their weights are in the neighbourhood of 4.4156 gms / 68 gms. They were issued from Gauda in Bengal in 614 and 616 A.H., respectively. It seemed that after 616 A.H. He stopped the issuance of gold coins and continued to struck only the silver tankahs from Delhi and Bengal mints. The gold coins were not reintroduced until Raziyah came to the power.]

[From the extant specimens it appears that Iltutmish issued his silver coins in two denominations viz., one *tankah* and half *tankah*. His early tankah coins issued upto 616 A.H. from Guada (Bengal) had horseman motif on them in imitation of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghauri's gold coins of that place; but his later *tankahs* issued from Delhi and Lakhnauti, which were only in silver, were devoid of pectoral motifs.] It observed that the silver coin on Iwaz Khalji struck in Bengal, in which he had incorporated the one *tola* standard weight from Muiz uddin's Guada vijoye commemorative gold coins and the Islamic pattern from his Ghazi issues, served as the model for Iltutmish's later coins of Bengal and this very type ultimately received the status of the imperial coinage of the Sultanate of Delhi known as tankah. This silver tankah was the first issue in the imperial coinage of the Sultanate of Dehli which was treated as the common currency all over the Sultanate of Delhi. Except it the other coins during his regime were local currencies varied from province to province.

[Iltutmish's billon jitals of one tanka (3.68 gms / 56.666 gns) standard weight were of two denominations viz., one *jital* and two *jitals*. They had several types and varieties.] Thakkur Pheru assigns individual names to each of these types / varieties. He mentions one type / variety of coins by the name of "Sataka Samasiya" which I think a type of Iltutmish's billon cons, named after the first word of his laqab "Shams (uddin)". According to Pheru this type of coins 'contain 1 *tola* 5 *mashas* of silver per 100 specimens, and their rate is 61 per one silver tankah. This calculation

of Pheru is most likely an approximation. The silver content of this coin is almost the same as we see in the *Iggani* billon *damma* of 'Al uddin Khalji which contains according to Pheru 1 *tola* 8 *mashas* of silver per 100 specimens (which in later days was slightly reduced); 60 of this *Iggani* dammas were equal to one silver per 100 specimens (which in later days was slightly reduced); 60 of this *Iggani* dammas were equal to one silver *rupaya* / *tankah*. From this statement of Pheru it appears that the "*Sataka Samasya*" coins on *jitals* of Iltutmish and it was the unit *jital* used in accounting. 60 of these coins seem to have been equal to one silver *tankah* as the *Iggani* dammas of 'Ala uddin Khalji were. This view also gets support from the Ghiyasi *daugani* (*jital*) and Mauzi *tigani* (*jital*) issued by Ghiyas uddin Balban and Mu'iz uddin Kaiqubad respectively. This shows that Ala uddin Khalji only renamed the *jital* as *damma* (or *dam*) without changing its denominational that 60 *jitals* were equal to one silver *tankah*, falsifies the assumptions of Edward Thomas and H.N. Wright. According to Thomas 64 *jitals* were equal to one silver *tankah* while according to H.N. Wright 48 *jitals* were equal to one silver *tankah*.

[In another *Gagha* of *Dravya Pariksha* Pheru cites five names of the same denominational billon coins which seem to have been five varieties of Iltutmish's billon *jitals*. Pheru says, "The coins called *titimist*, *Kuwwakhani*, *Khalifati*, *Adhachanda* and *Sikandari*, which are all *Samsi* coins, contain 3 *tolas* of silver (Per 100 specimens)".] It shows that the coins of this denomination contain almost double the silver content of one *jital*. So, this may be identified as the two *jitals* denomination, 30 of which coins were equal one silver *tankah*. Five names were of the five varieties of this two *jitals* denomination. Some of these coins of Iltutmish cited by Pheru may be identified from among this extant specimens.

[One variety of his coins bearing the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan Iltutmish" with the mint-name and date on the obverse and the Nagari legend "Sri Sultan Iltitimist" with date 1283 V.S. on the reverse seems to be the "Titimist" coin mentioned by Pheru. This name might have been

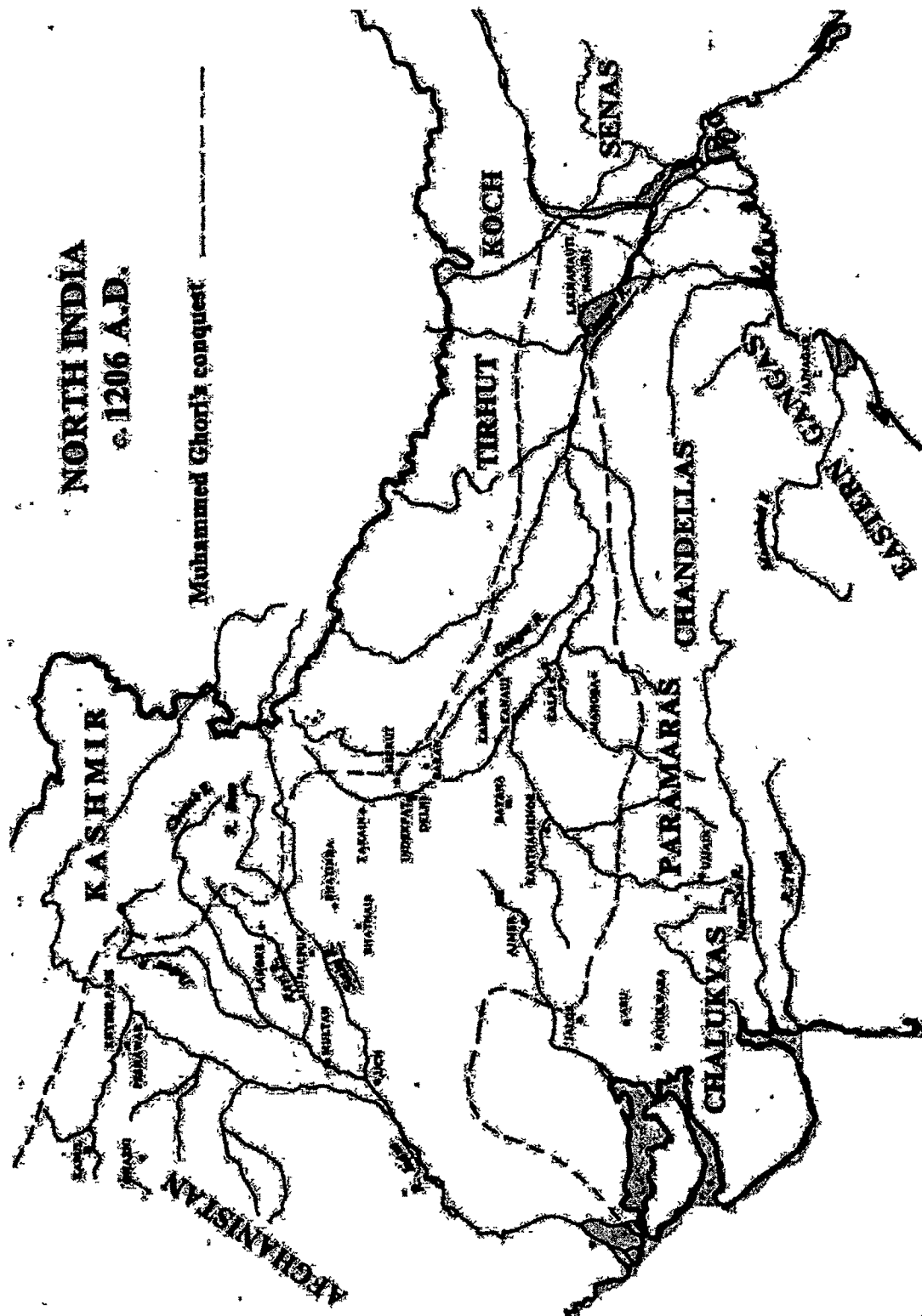
given to these coins after the Nagari word "Titimisi" found on the coin. This variety of coins was issued by Iltutmish in 624 A.H./ 1283 V.S. / 1227 A.D. from Delhi.

[After receiving the investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad in 626 A.H., Iltutmish issued two varieties of his billon coins in the name of the Khalifah, Al-Mustansir billah. These coins were in the "bull and horseman type". One variety bears the legend "Sri Shalifah (= Khalifah)" in Nagari on the bull side and "Sri hamiah" on the horseman side. The other variety has the name of the Khalifah "Mustansiri amir li mumina" on the bull side and "Sri Shalifah (=Khalifah)" on the horseman side. These coins with the legend "Sri Shalifah (=Khalifah)" might have been called by Pheru as "Khalifati".]

Another variety of Iltutmish's billon coins having Arabic legend "*Shams al-duniya wa al-din Iltutmish al-Sultan*" on the obverse and the motif of horseman to right on the reverse. The today of the rider on the horse is replaced here, on this particular variety of coins, by a large crescent called "Ardhachandra". It may be that of this crescent mark this variety of coins is given the name of "Ardhachandra".

**NORTH INDIA
c. 1206 A.D.**

Mohammed Ghor's conquest



CHAPTER – II

COINAGE OF THE TURKS

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CHAPTER - III

COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ILTUTMISH

1. Rukh uddin Firuz*

Ilututnish had nominated his daughter Raziah as his successor. On his death the members of the Forty (bandagani chihalgani) particularly the provincial offices distegarded his wishes and placed his eldest surviving son Rukh uddin Firuz on the throne of Delhi.¹ The new Sultan left the administration into the hands of his mother Shah Turkan and himself led a licentious life.² Shah Turkan took the administration into her hands with revengeful attitude. Her rule was tyrannical and oppressive. Many nobles fell victims to her oppression. One son of Ilututnish named Qutub uddin was murdered.³ An unsuccessful attempt was also made to assassinate Raziyah. These activities alienated the members of the Forty. The governors of Awadh, Badaun, Multan, Hansi and Lahore revolted and declared themselves independent.⁴ Rukh uddin went to quell the revolt, but the non-cooperation of the officers and secession of the wazir, Nizamul Mulk Janaidi, disheartened him. He had to come back without any action.

While Rukh uddin was out of the capital, Delhi, Raziyah took a chance of it. She come out dressed in red as an aggrieved person before the masses of the Friday congregation and appealed to them in the name of her father against Shah Turkan's intrigues. She pleaded that she should be given chance of administration to prove her abilities; if she failed to prove herself better than men, the people weer at liberty to behead her. This had the desired effect. The army officers and the people of Delhi sided with her. Shah Turkan and Rukh uddin were killed and Raziyah was elevated to the throne. Rukh uddin thus had a brief reign of only six

* Regin : 30 April-19 November 1236 A D.

months and twenty days, from 21 Sah'aban, 633 to 18 Ra'ul-Awaal, 634 A.H./30 April to 19 November, 1236 A.D.⁵

Coinage

During the reign Ruk uddin Firuz issued his silver *tankahs* and billon *jutals* on the pattern of the coins of his father, Iltutmish. The silver tankah of 11.04 gms/170 gms issued by him are classified into three varieties. The earliest one followed the pattern of Iltutmish's coin no.72. On these coins of Rukh uddin the obverse bears the legend 'fi' and al-imam Al-Mustansir amir al-mu' minin, fi shuhur sanah salasa was salasina was sitta miayh" in the center within a square, and the mint-name "Delhi" in the top segment. The reverse also has the Arabic legend which is "Al-Sultan al-azam shams al-duniya wa al-din, al-Sultan al-mu 'azzam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din Firuz Shah" in the center within a square.⁶ (Cat No. 8, Pl. No. III, Fig. No.24).

Rukh uddin did not receive the diploma of investiture from the Khalifah. The writings of Khalifah's name on his coins, therefore, was only to follow the pattern introduced by his father and to show his allegiance to the Khalifah to legalize his rule in the eye of Islam.

One remarkable peculiarity on his coin is that here the name of the father is written first and then his own name. The reason is obvious. Rukh uddin was not nominated by his father, Iltutmish. He was selected by the provincial officer, so there was still opposition from the partisans of Raziya. For this reason he was shaky at the outset to declare himself as a full-fledged sultan. He invoked his father's name in his coins to strengthen his cause by showing that he was the rightful heir of his father. The present variety of coin is his earliest issue. Here he wrote his father's name first with the superior title "al-Sultan al-azam" followed by his own name with the inferior title "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam", as if he was ruling in the name of his father; and the coin gives the impression of joint issue. In later days when he realized that his position was secured, then he

eliminated his father's name and issued coins in his own name which are the coins of the second and the third varieties.

The second variety of his *tanka*s unlike the former one, followed another type of Iltutmish's coin. like the prototype these coins have on the obverse the "*Kalimah*" and the name of the 'Abbasid Khalifah "Al-Mustansir billah amir al-mu'minin" in the center and the Quranic verse "Hua 'Ilazi arsala resulahu bil huda wa din al-haqq liyuzhirahu 'ala al-din kullihi" in the margin around. On the reverse we have the legend "Al-Sultan al-azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Firuz Shah bin Sultan" in the center and "nasir amir al-mu'minin" in the four segments.⁷ here the name of the father is dispelled off and the himself assumed the highest regal title "al-Sultan al-'azam". (Cat No. 8, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.25)

The third variety which is a variant of the second one, bears the same obverse legend, although slight change in noticed in the ornamentation and design. The reverse legend is also the same except that the last part "nasir amir al-mu'minin" which is the epithet of the Sultan, is omitted here. This variety bears the date 634 A.H. (=1236 A.D.) which means that it was issued only during the last two months of his reign. The omission of "nasir amir al-mu'minin" (i.e., helper of the commander of the faithful) here do not bring any change in his allegiance to the Khalifah as the name of the Khalifah is written on the obverse. It was only due to shortage of space (Cat No. 9, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.26).

The coins of the second and third varieties discussed above were issued later than those of the first variety. The later though cut off from the coins of variety second, it is seen on those of the third which is variant of the second one. Iltutmish's name on the coins of these last two varieties is not seen. It indicates that by that time Rukh uddin became stronger and confident of his authority so much so that he needed no more to invoke his father's name.

Regarding his billon coins Thakkur Pheru says, "of the sons of Shams uddin Altamash (i.e., Iltutmish) the coins *rukni*, *Firuz Shahi* and *Barahottari* contain 2 *tolas* 11 *mashas* of silver per 100 specimens; their rate is 31 per (silver) *tankah*".

It is known from the contemporary chronicles that the official name of the billon coins, at that time, was *jital*. The above names mentioned by Pheru, therefore, were the names of the varieties of Rukh uddin's billon issues and they were three in number. When they were named so and what were their identifying marks, are not mentioned by Pheru. These names might have been given by the money-changers and merchants.

All the billon coins of this ruler, so far discovered, may also be distinguished into three varieties. In one of the two Shahi motifs viz. the bull and horseman, are seen on its two sides and the Nagari legend is written above each of them. The legend on the bull side bears the name of the sultan as "Suratana Sri Ruknadin (= Sultan Sri Rukh uddin), while that on the horseman side, his title as "Sri hamirah". Since this variety bears the name "Ruknandin", it may well be identified with Pheru's "*Rukni*" coins (Cat No. 9, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.27).

On the other two varieties the horseman motif is retained, but the bull is replaced by the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din Firuz Shah".⁸ these two varieties are identical in their obverse and reverse but they can be distinguished only by the form of the horseman. On one, it follows the pattern of Delhi and on the other that of Badaun. The coins having Delhi type horseman, in my opinion, may be the "Firuzshahi" coin of Thakkaur Pheru, as this variety records the name of the sultan as "Firuz Shah" (Cat No. 9, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No. 28) unlike the former one which records it as "Ruknandin". Similarly the coins bearing the Badaun type horseman may be the "Barahottari" coins of Pheru. The meaning of this term (Barahottari) is not clear. Its identification with this variety is simply based on the assumption that this is the third name in

Thakkur Pheru's list and this is the only variety of his coins that remained to be named.

The coins of all the three varieties weigh on *Tanka* i.e. 3.68 grammes /56.67 grains each, as stated by Thakkur Pheru and according to him each of them contains .3247 gms/5 gms of silver. So these coins seem to have been two *jital* denomination, thirty of which were equal to one silver *tankah*.

No gold and copper coin of this sultan has come to light as yet. Since the later days of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri gold coin was the production of Gauda (Bengal) only * Iltutmish also issued a few gold coins from this mint, but after 616 A.H. he seemed to have stopped their issuance. This situation appeared to have been continued during Rukh uddin. He operated only two mints viz. Delhi and Badaun. Delhi used to issue coins in both silver and billon while Badaun issue only billon.

2. Jalalat uddin Raziyah (1236-1240 A.D.)

It has already been stated that the tyranny and oppression of Shah Turkan, the mother of Rukh uddin Firuz, caused to create general dissension and disorder all over the country. Many provincial governors asserted their independence. Majority of the members of the court, the people of Delhi and the army officers under this circumstances sided with Raziah. They murdered Rukh uddin and Shah Turkan and put Raziah on the throne.

After accession Raziyah's prime task was to consolidate her won position and bring under her control the provinces which had become independent during her predecessor. It found that as the army, the nobles and the people of Delhi had placed Raziyah on the throne, the provincial governors, who constituted a very powerful section of the Turkish governing class, felt ignored and humiliated and consequently from the very beginning of her reign Raziyah had to deal with their opposition.⁹ Initially she successfully subjugated all of them and brought the whole

empire from Lakhnauti (Bengal) to Debal under her control.¹⁰ But after sometimes the governors of Mullah, Hansi, Badaun and Lahore again revolted against her. She suppressed the rebellions of Lahore but when she marched against Malik Ikhtiyar uddin Altunia, of Bhatinda (Tabarhinda), she fell victim to the conspiracy of her own people. Consequently in a battle she was defeated and captivated and ultimately married to Altunia.¹¹

When the news of her defeat reached Delhi the Forty installed Bahram, another son of Iltutmish on the throne. Later, Raziyah and Altunia marched to Delhi to occupy the throne but were defeated and killed. Thus the rule of Raziyah ended after a short reign of three and half years (from 18 Rab'ul Awaal, 634-27th Ramzan, 637 A.H./19 November, 1236-22 April, 1240 A.D.).

Coinage

It is expected that following the Islamic traditions Raziyah would have issued her own coins soon after her accession to the throne. Practically we also got some silver coins issued in her name in the very year of her accession (i.e, 634 A.H.) from the distant province of Bengal,¹² but it is conspicuously surprising that not a single coin of that date struck at the capital Delhi issues, so far deciphered, is only 635 A.H. on the Bengal issues, on the other hand, we have the dates 634, 635 and 636 A.H. after that we know no coin of this Sultan from any mint although she was on the throne for at least one year more (down to 27th Ramzan, 637 A.H.). whether this is only because that we have not come across the coins of these dates or actually the coins were not issued then, is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

[Raziyah's coins are the true reflection of the unrest political condition of the country. Her gaining of the throne in the name of her coins where she always invoked her father's name with prominence; her own name was either excluded totally or written partially with less importance.

The *tankah* coins issued by this queen are of the same weight and fabric as were the coins of her father, Iltutmish and brother, Rukh uddin Firuz. Her all tankahs were struck in the only type. They imitated the pattern of Iltutmish's like the prototype may have on their obverse the same formula of legend bearing the name of the 'Abbasid Khalifah" as "Fi 'ahd al-imam al-Mustansir amir al-mu'minin" in the centre and the date in Arabic words in the margin around. On the reverse, there is also an Arabic legend in the centre and in the margin around, is the repetition of the same information as we have on the obverse. This system of repeating the same information in the margins of both faced introduced by Raziya was followed by her successors for a long time. Although her coins are of the same type having identical obverse, their reverses have different central legend by which her Delhi issues may be distinguished into two varieties.

On one, the reverse bears the legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam shams al-dunya wa al-din Iltutmish al-Sultan nusrat amir al-mu'minin" (Cat No. 10, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.29). Here we have only the name of her father and no mention of her own name. As such at one time these coins were attributed to Iltutmish. But the use of the word "nusrat", the feminine of the word "nasir" indicates otherwise. So, the opinion was revised, and later, it was thought that the coin was issued by a woman. Thus by implications it is now believed that the coin actually is an anonymous issue of Raziya. The date 635 A.H. (1237 A.D.) of the coin is in accordance with this suggestion.

On another variety the reverse bears the names of both Iltutmish and Raziya. Here the legend is "al-Sultan al-'azam shams al-dunya wa al-din al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Raziya al-dunya wa al-din" (Cat No. 10, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.30).

Like her brother, Rukh uddin, she also used on these second variety of coins the higher regal title "Al-Sultan al-'azam" (the greatest Sultan) with her father's name, and the lower one, "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam"

(the great Sultan), with her own name. This gives the impression that the coins were joint issues struck by Raziyah as a subordinate ruler under her father, as we see the use of the same formula first in the minting on Mu'iz uddin's ghazni coins.* But the actual picture here was different. Raziyah issued them as a sovereign ruler and her father had died long back. The reason behind the adoption of this formula of legend was nothing but to strengthen her cause and to show that she was ruling in the name of her father.

[Another peculiarity of these coins is that her name is mentioned as "Raziyah al-dunia wa al-din" which appears to be a *haqab* (title) and not 'alam (name). But the chronicles always refer her only by the same Raziyah. From the gold and silver coins of Bengal it is known that she had adopted the *laqab* "Jalal al-duniya wa al-din." From a type of her Delhi billon *jital* her full name is known as "Jalalt al-duniya wa al-din Raziyah".¹³] In view of these facts it may justifiably be conceived that the die cutter has added the words "al-duniya wa-al-din" with Raziyah by mistake.

[Now the question arises if Jalala al-duniya wa al-din Raziyah was her full name then it was not written on her coins? The probably answer to this question is that Raziyah was the only women sovereign ascended the throne of Delhi. Her selection was not unanimous because of her weak sex. The provincial offices, some members of the Forty and the Wazir Nizamul Mulk Junaidi opposed her. So in order to strengthen her cause she involved her father's name on her coins.] Initially she pretended that she was ruling in the name of her father Iltutmish. [The earliest coins she issued from Delhi were exclusively in the name of her father. These she remained anonym. After some times when she became confident of her authority she added her own name with that of his father. As both the name had to be accommodated on one side of the coin, as the other side was occupied by the name of the Khalifah, her full name could not be written there. It resulted in the inclusion of her partial name. On her Delhi

* Which were issued by him as a governor under his brother Ghiyas uddin.

coins, therefore, we have only the '*alam*' part of her name which is "Raziyah" while on those of Bengal, only the laqab part which is "Jalal al-duniya wa al-din." It may be mentioned here that none of her silver coins either from Delhi or Bengal bear her full name.

Regarding her billon *jitals* we have the reference in the *Dravya Pariksha* where Thakkur Peru says, Shamsuddin's daughter was Radiya Begum, her coin named *Radi* is of two kinds viz., of Dehli (Delhi) mint and of Vadauwa (Badaun) mint. The *Radi* coins of Delhi contain $16\frac{1}{2}$ *tankas* (5 tola 6 mashas) of silver per 100 coins, their rate is 19 per *tankah* (silver coins). The *Radi* coins of Badaun mint called *Radi Vadauwa* contain $12\frac{3}{4}$ *tankas* (4 tolas 3 mashas) of silver per 100 coins; their rate is 31 per *tankah* (silver coin).

The extant billon coins of Raziyah have the horseman motif on one side and the Arabic legend on the other. They do not bear mint-name on them. But from the style of the horseman motif they may well be distinguished into two groups. One bear the traditional Delhi type horseman* and the other that of Badaun. The former group of coins were undoubtedly the products of Delhi mint which Thakkur Pheru called as "Radi Dehli". Those of the other group were the products of Badaun mint and these coins were called by him as "Radi Vadauwa".

Her Delhi *jitals* are of five varieties. The first variety bears on the reverse the horsemen to right and on the obverse the Arabic legend as "Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Raziyah al-din bint al-Sultan"¹⁴ (Cat No. 10, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.31). Those of the second variety have the same obverse and reverse as of the first variety coins with an additional six-pointed star under the horse. The coins of the third variety are similar to those of the second variety in all respect except that the ornamental star mark is replaced by a plus mark. The fourth variety is slightly different. Here we have the Nagari legend "Sri hamirah" above the horse on the reverse but no ornamental

* Earlier called Chauhan horseman.

mark is seen under horse. On the obverse we have a different Arabic legend which is "al-Sutan al-'azam Jalalat al-duniya wa al-din Raziya". The fifth variety of coins are similar to those of the fourth but here the Arabic legend is arranged in a different manner. In this new arrangement "al-Sultan" is written in the first line, "Jalalat al-duniya wa al-din" in the third line and "Raziya" in the second line.*

Unlike the Delhi coins, here Baduan issues were of the only one variety. They bear on the reverse the Baduan type horseman to right and on the obverse the Arabic legend as on the fifth variety of Delhi coins (Cat No. 11, Pl. No. IV, Fig. No.32).

The Arabic legend for the above billon coins of Delhi mint was arranged variously on different dies. These dies being larger than the flan of the coin some parts of the legend were cut off which created problem to reconstruct it. The legend of the coins published by H.N. Wright in his corpus seem to be incomplete. H.N. Wright has read on them is erroneous. On careful scrutiny it is found that there is the trace of the word "Jalalat" in the last line before "al-duniya". So, there is reason for scholars to suggest that "Raziya al-duniya wa al-din" was ever used these coins.

According to the estimation of Thakur Pheru Raziya's Delhi *jitals* contained .607 gms/ 9.35 gns of silver per specimen and that of Badaun .469gms/7.225 gns. This difference of the silver contents of these two coins shows that they were of the value of three and two *jitals*, respectively. But it is unthinkable that these two places would have issued coins of two different value. It is quite possible that there might have existed coins of these two different values at both the places and it was sheer change that Thakur Pheru laid hands on only one variety of each place of two different denomination.

* On many coins of the Later Sultani Period and of the Mughals this kind of line arrangements are seen.

The copper coins of this Sultan are known only by a few specimens. They are distinguished into four varieties as follows:

Obverse	Reversed
(a) Bull to left Nagari legend "Sri Samantadeva" (partly visible) above.	In rayed circle "Raziyah" in Arabic
(b) Do	Do, but letters inverted
(c) Bull to right. Legend is the same as on variety (a)	As on (a)
(d) Horseman	Do

The coins of the last two varieties (i.e., c and d) are known only from L. White King's collection and his catalogue and his catalogue does not mention their weights. The coins of varieties a) and (b) are known of two weights viz., 3.31 gms / 51 gns and 2.58 gms / 39.8 gns respectively. These coins might have been of the denomination of 4 and 3 viswas.

"Sri Samantadeva" written on the coins of variety (a) and (b) is noteworthy. Samantadeva was the famous Shahi king. His name was traditionally copied on the coins of many later rulers of different dynasties like the Ghaznavids of Lahore and Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer. Mu'izz uddin Muhammad Ghuri eliminated the name from his coins and replaced it by his own name. Raziyah just copied it. After her it was discontinued for ever.

[In Bengal some gold and silver *tankahs* were issued in her name from Lakhnauti mint.] The gold *tankahs* are represented by the only extant specimen now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum (PWM), Mumbai. Mr. Gibbs reported to have heard of two more specimens which are no longer traceable. Her silver *tankahs* of this mint are not so scarce. The date of her gold coin is missing but some of her silver coins have preserved it on them. Three dates have so far been read. They are 634, 635 and 636 A.H.

[All her *tankah* coins of both Delhi and Lakhnauti mints have on their obverse the same legend "Fi 'ahd al-imam Al-Mustansir amir al-mu'minin",

but the reverse legends of the Lakhnauti coins are altogether different from those seen on the Delhi coins. Her on Lakhnauti coins it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Jalat al-duniya wa al-din malikah Iltutmish abnat al-Sultan musrat amir al-mu'minin" where we have her *laqab* but her name is conspicuously absent. Why it was so done has been discussed above. However, her Lakhnauti silver tankahs may be distinguished into three varieties by some minor variations occurred in the line arrangement of their reverse legend.]

[It may look strange that while the capital Delhi did not issued gold coins, this distant province did it. This was only in continuation of the practice which had been started right from the time of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji who had issued gold coins in the name of the master Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghauri. His coins were followed by Iltutmish and now we have that of Raziyah.* Like gold the silver coins under the Sultans of Delhi also originated in this provinces where Iwaz Khalji had started it first. Later Iltutmish borrowed the silver type of Delhi but not the gold. Following him his successors also issued only silver coins from the capital Delhi. This practice continued till the time of Nasir uddin Muhmud who was the first to issue gold tankahs also from Delhi mint in addition to the silver tankahs.]

The governor of Bengal under Raziyah was Izz udding Tughrat Tughan Khan (631-641 A.H. / 1233-1224 A.D.) who had been appointed to that post by Iltutmish. He remained loyal to Raziyah all along and issued these coins in her name.

[However, Raziyah's coins of all the four metals viz., gold, silver, billon and copper, have been found and they were issued from Delhi, Badaun and Bengal mints. Delhi used to mint silver, billon and copper coins; Badaun only billon and Lakhnauti (Bengal) gold and silver.]

* No coin of this metal with the name of Rukh uddin Firuz has come to Light.

3. Mui'z uddin Bahram Shah

Bahram was the third son of Ultutmish.¹⁵ He was put on the throne by the members of the Forty on condition that they would have the free hands in the administration without any interference from his side.¹⁶ A new post of Naib-i-Mamlakat was created and Ikhtiyar uddin Aitigin, a prominent member of the Forty was appointed to it.¹⁷ The post of *wazir* remained as usual but it was now a subordinate one under the Naib-i-mamlakat. Bahram received the support of the Forty so long he did not interfere with their activities in the administration. But when he realized that he was being put to the non entity, he could not remain a mute spectator to their high-handedness. He tried to restrain the Forty and curb their power. This was not to the linking of the Forty who ultimately murdered him on 13 zulaq'ad, 638 A.H./ 15 May, 1242 A.D. and raised Ala uddin Mas'ud to the throne.

Coinage

The coins of this Sultan are known in silver and billon only. His silver *tankahs* followed the metrology and pattern of *tankah* coins of his predecessors. They were issued after one *tola* standard eight although physically some of them were slightly deficient in weight. They have on their obverse the name of the contemporary. Abbasid Khalifah in the same formula of legend which was introduced earlier by Ultutmish for his *tankah*.¹⁸

The legend is "Fi 'ahd al-imam Al-mustanir amir-al-mu'minin". It is written in the centre of the obverse, and the date and mint in the margin around. The reverse bears the name and titles of the Sultan as "Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Baharam Shan bin Sultan" in the four segments. In the margin there is the repetition of the same legend as on the obverse (Cat No. 11, Pl. No. V, Fig. No. 33). The second variety of this type has the reverse similar to that of the first variety. A slight variation is noticed only on its obverse. Here an additional epithet of the Sultan "nasir amir al-mu'minin" is added and is written in the four segments (Cat No. 11, Pl. No. V, Fig. No. 34). On a third variety the

obverse is similar to that of the first one, but the reverse legend is arranged differently in five lines which is written in the centre within a circle.

The date so far read in the *tankahas* is only 638 A.H. although his reign started from 27 Ramzan, 637 A.H. We do not know whether any coin was issued in his name at the time of his coronation or not.

Bahram Shah did not invoke his father's name on his coins as did his predecessor Rukh uddin and Raziya. This shows that he received full support and co-operation of the Forty and there was no fear of any opposition from their side. The contemporary history corroborates this fact.

The billon of this Sultan also followed the metrology and pattern of those of his predecessor. We have reference of these coins in the *Dravya Pariksha* where it is stated that of the *Mauzi** (coins) those named *Veranava* and *Panaga* contain 1 tola 9½ mashas of silver per 100 specimens, their rate is 55 per (silver) tankah. The coins called *Panarahottari* contain 2 tolas 1 mashas of silver per 100 specimens; their rate is 49 tankah. The coin called *chanka* contain 2 tolas 2 mashas of silver per 100 coins, their rate is 47 per (silver) tankah. Such are the *Mauzi* coins.

The extant billon coins (*jitals*) of this Sultan are of two types. One bears the recumbent bull to left on the obverse and the horseman to right on the reverse. This type also bears the Nagari legends on both the faces in addition to their motifs. The legend of the reverse written above and right of the horse is the usual "Sri hamirah". On the obverse we have two different legends which distinguish them into two varieties. On one the legend is "Suritana Sri Mauzadi (Sultan Sri Mu'iz uddin)" in Nagari around the bull¹⁹ (Cat No. 12, Pl. No. V, Fig. No. 35). This variety has got several sub-varieties as there are some minor variations of the ornamental marks

* *Mauzi* (*Muiz*) referred to the coins of Mu'iz uddin Bahram Shah

on them. On the other variety of this type of the obverse legend is simply "Mu'iz" in Nagari written above the bull.

The second type of this coin has only horsemen on one side and the Arabic legend on the other. The style of the horsemen of them may be distinguished as the Delhi type and Badaun type indicating that they are the products of these two mints. Both of them were issued earlier by this predecessors, Iltutmish and Riziya from these mints.

Bahram's Delhi coins of this type are of three varieties. The first one bears on the obverse the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din" with the mint name "Delhi" at the top. On the reverse there is also an Arabic legend "Bahram Shah bin al-Sultan" written above and right of the horse (Cat No. 12, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.36). The second variety is almost the same as the first one with the only exception that there the mint-name Delhi is dropped. The coins of the third variety have the similar obverse as the second one, but on their reverse the legend is simply Bahram Shah.

The Badaun type coins on the other hand have a different legend on the obverse which is "abu'l muzaffar Bahram Shah bin Sultan", its obverse bears only the horseman without legend (Cat No. 12, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.37).

However, from the above discussion it is clear that the two types of Bahram's billon coins are of five major varieties, of which two belong to the first type of three to the second. They are listed in the following table.

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Ref.
1	Recumbent bull to left with Nagari legend "Suritana Sri mauzdi"	Delhi (Chauhan) type horsemen to right with Nagari legend "Sri Hamirah"	Cat No 12, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.35
2.	Arabic legend "al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din"	Delhi (Chauhan) type horseman to right with Arabic legend "Bahram" Shah al Sultan having the mint name "Delhi" above.	Cat No. 12, Pl No. V, Fig. No.36)
3	Arabic Legend "Abu'l Muzaffar Bahram Shah Bin Sultan".	Badaun type horseman to right.	Cat No 12, Pl No V, Fig. No 37

The first four varieties of the above list were issued from Delhi mint and the fifth one from Badaun. S.W. Smith's assay shows that the first variety contains 2013 gms / 3.10 gns of silver per specimen.

In the statement of Thakkur Pheru discussed above we also get five names of his coins inkling their silver contents and rate. They are as follows:

Sl. No.	Silver Content		Value of terms of jital
	Per 100 coins	Per coin	
1. Veranavaga	1 total 9½ mashas	.1978 gms / 2.045 gns	1
2. Panaga	Do	Do	1
3. Solahottari	2 tolas	2207 gms / 3.4 gns	1¼
4. Panarahottari	2 tolas 1 masha	2229 gms / 3.54 gns	1¼
5 Chhaka	2 tolas 2 mashas	.239 gms / 3.68 gns	1¼

Smith's assay of Bahram's bull and horseman type coin mentioned above shows that its silver content is more or less the same as that of the *varanavaga* and *Panaga* coins mentioned by Pheru. So in my opinion Pheru's *Vernavaya* may be identified with the first variety coins of Bahram Shah and the *Panaga* with those of the second variety. There is no doubt that the remaining three coins of Pheru correspond with the rest three varieties of Bahram's extant coins, but which one corresponds to which can not be said definitely until we know their silver contents by proper assay.

Besides the above type of billon coins P.L. Gupta²⁰ has attributed to this ruler another type of coin which is described as follows:

On the obverse is the recumbent bull of left with Nagari legend "Saubram Shah" and on the reverse horsemen to right with the Nagari legend "Sri Hamirah."

The coin was found in a hoard discovered in Bijnor district, U.P. and is described by C.R. Singhal.²¹ His reading the obverse legend is 'Sa uprau sa'. A similar coin was earlier published by Cunningham and he has read on it "mau-Sri Uvame". Gupta has mentioned that none of these scholars had correctly read the name. The hoard contained the coins of all the rulers from 1049-1287 A.D. and the missing rulers are Bahram shah and Nasir uddin Muhmud. So he thinks that the correct reading of the legend is "Sau Sri bram Shah" and is meant to express "Shah Sri Bahram Shah". This identification appears quite reasonable and convincing.

A few copper coins bearing the Arabic legend "Mu'iz al-duniya" on their one side and 'wa al-din" on the other have been discovered. "Mu'iz uddin" on these coins is the *laqab* and not the proper name of the issuing Sultan. On the very sight of this *laqab* some scholars attributed these coins to Muhammad bin Sam²² who had this *laqab*. But it should not be forgotten that he was not the only Delhi Sultan to assume this *laqab*. Besides him Bahram (1240-1242 A.D.) and Kaiqubad (1287-1290 A.D.) also assumed it. So here only the *laqab* is not sufficient for the attribution of these coins. Other points should also be taken into consideration. It is seen that Muhammad bin Sam's other coins of this metal bear his name as "Mui'iz" or "Mui'izi" and not the present form. On the contrary, Kaiqubad's copper coins bear his name as "Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din". On one side and "al-Sulan al-'azam" on the other, which is also different from the present form. It is also found that copper coins of several varieties have been attributed to the other two Sultans except Bahram although his silver and billon coins are sufficiently available which testify to the issuance to attribute these coins to Mu'iz uddin Bahram Shah. All the coins available with this legend have the same obverse and reverse, but some minor differences are noticed in their area-lines by which may be distinguished into three varieties.

No gold coin of Bahram Shah has come to light as yet. Yet operated only two mints viz., Delhi and Badaun, Delhi mined (silver)

tankahs, (billon) *jails* and copper coins, while Badaun issued billon *jitals* and cooper coins.

4. 'Ala uddin Mas'ud Sha (1242-1246 A.D.)

After the murder of Bahram Shah his nephew Ala uddin Mas'ud who was the son of Rukh uddins Ibrahim, was put on the throne by the Forty on the same terms and conditions that was dictated earlier to Bahram,²³ under him the power of the Forty was supreme. Malik Qutb uddin Hasan was appointed as the *Naib-i-mamlakat* and Muhazaab uddin as the Wazir.²⁴ During his rule two new personalities came into prominence. One was Nasir uddin Mahmud and the other Balban. The former was the youngest son of Iltumish and the latter his freed slave, Balban, a young member of the Forty was appointed amir-i-hajib. Gradually he concentrated all powers into his own hands.²⁵

During his reign Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan was the governor of Lakhnauti (Bengal). He was driven out by Tamr Khan who occupied the governorship I 1244 A.D. But the Sultan showed piety of Tughan and compensated him by the governorship of Awadh, Multan and Uch became prey to the foreign invasions. These two places were repeatedly invaded once by has Hasan Qarlagh and again by the Mongols. When Nasir uddin Mahmud advanced against the Mongols they left India.

Thus this Sultan had a comparatively peaceful reign of four years. He died on 23 Muharram, 644 A.H./10 June, 1246 A.D.²⁶ His death is mysterious. It is believed that Balban had an intrigue with the mother of Nasir uddin Muhmud and he had poisoned him.²⁷ After him Nasir uddin Muhmud was elevated to the throne.

Coinage

Ala uddin Mas'ud issued his coins in the types of metrology of those that were current in the sultanate. Under him Delhi issued silver tankahs and billon *jitals*. Badaun only *jitals* and Bengal gold and silver tankahs.

His tankah coins follow the earlier pattern bearing the name of the Khalifah in the specific form of legend on the obverse, and his own name and titles on the reverse. His Bengal *tankahas* do not have the marginal legend, but his Delhi *tankahs* have it on both the sides bearing the same text disclosing the date and the mint,²⁸ which are in most cases out of flan. Although his Bengal *tankahs* do not bear the mint name, they may be distinguished by the particular style of line-arrangement of the reverse legend, and this identification is attested by the hoard findings also.

His Delhi *tankahs* are of three varieties. The first two have the same obverse legend which is "Fi 'ahd al-Imam al-Mustansir amir al-mu'minn" but their reverse legend slightly differs. On one's it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam 'Ala al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Masud Shah bin Sultan" written in three lines (Cat No. 13, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.38). The date of this variety is missing but it appears that it was issued in 639 A.H. as we get the second variety of his coins with this date which continued till 641 A.H. when the third variety started. So this variety has been placed as the earliest one.

On the second, variety of his *tankah* the same legend is written on the reverse as on the first variety with some minor changes. Here the word "bin" is replaced by "ibn" and "Sultan" by "al-Sultan", and the legend is written in four lines instead of three (Cat No. 13, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.39). Several series of this second variety of coins were issued. They are dated 639, 540 and 641 A.H. Khalifah al-Mustansir had died in 640 A.H. and was succeeded by Al-Must'asim,²⁹ but it is interesting that the coins were being issued in the name of the deceased Khalifah till 641 A.H. The reason was nothing but the late arrival of this news at Delhi. The news seems to have reached here in 641 A.H. when the third variety of his *tankah* was issued where Al-Mustansir's name was replaced by that Al-Must'asim on the obverse retaining the formula of legend unchanged.³⁰ The reverse legend of this third variety is almost the same as on the second variety except that the word "ibn" is replaced here by "bin" in the fourth line. This variety of

coins were issued continuously till the end of his reign (Cat No. 13, Pl. No. V, Fig. No.40).

The billon coins (jitals) of Mas'us Shah so far discovered are of three types. The first one follows the traditionally bull and horseman type issued earlier by all his predecessors except Raziyah. It bears on the obverse the recumbent bull to left with the name of the Sultan as "Suritana Sri Alwawadin" (Sultan Sri 'Ala uddin) in Nagari.³¹ On the reverse is the Delhi type horsemen to right and Nagari legend "Sri Hamirah" above it.

The coins of this type have some numerals in Nagari on the hump of bull. 7,9, 1299 and 1300 are such numerals which have so far been noticed on these coins. They remind us the coins of the same type of Iltutmish where we have also the similar numerals in the same place and this practice goes back to Anagapalla, the Tomar king of Delhi, who also wrote similar figures on his coins on the hump of the bull. Out of the four figures seen on Mas'ud's coins the last two i.e., 1299 and 1300 if taken as the Samvat years, then they fit with his reign. For this reason H.N. Wright thinks that they are the dated of issue. But he fails to fit all the figures with Samvat years corresponding to his reign. What these numerals actually mean on these coins is still mysterious as in the case of that on the coins Iltutmish and Anagapala. This type of coins may be distinguished into several varieties by their minor changes occurred on them. Two varieties of these coins were issued in the name of the contemporary Abbasid Khalifah as was done earlier by Iltutmish. On both the varieties the legend "Sri Khalifah". On the bull side of the Sultan's name is seen in two different forms on the two varieties. On one it is "Suritana Sri Alwadi"³² (Sultan Sri Ala uddin) as on the above coins (Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.41) But on the other it is "Sri Alawa Suratana" (Sri 'Ala uddin Sultan) (Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.42). This last variety has several sub-varieties due to some minor variations on their obverse and reverse. As these coins are undated it is difficult to say which Khalifah was meant by it Al-Mustansir or Al-Must'asim?

The name of the Sultan on some of this first type of coins is seen partially. This is only due to cutting off the other part of it.

All the varieties of this first type so far known are listed below:³³

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Ref.
1	Recumbent bull to left. On jhul x on rump : around : "Suritana Sri Alawadin" in Nagari.	Delhi (Chauhan) type horseman to right with Nagari legend "Sri Hamirah"	Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.41
2.	Recumbent bull to left On jhul On rump: Around "Suritana Sri Alawadin" in Nagari	Do, but around "Sri Salifah" in Nagari.	Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.42

The second type of his billon coins bears the horseman on the reverse and the Arabic legend on the obverse. The horseman follows either the Delhi type of Badaun type indicating their mint of issue. Some of them in this table.

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse		Ref.
1	arabic legend "al-sultan al-mu 'azzam 'Ala al-Duniya wa al-din.	Delhi type horseman to right; above "Sri hamirah" in Nagari.	Delhi	Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No 43
2.	Do, but adding in last line "Mas'ud Shah"	Do, but without "al-Sultan".	Do	Cat No. 15, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No 44
3	Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-zam Mas'ud Shah bin Sultan".	Badaun type horseman to right.	Badaun	Cat No. 14, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.45

The third type of Mas'ud's billon coin bears exclusively Arabic legend on both the faces. This type of was issued earlier by Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam and Iltutmish. Afterwards it was discontinued. Sultan Mas'ud is seem to reintroduced it again. His coins of this type bear on the obverse the legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam' Ala al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "abu'l muzaffar Mas'ud Shah bin Sultan".

Regarding the billon coins of this Sultan, Thakkur Pheru states that "The son of Rukh uddin Firuz was Ala uddin and his coins called Valavaniya lkanqi and contain 3 ½ tankas (= 1 tola 2 mashah) tankah. His other kinds of coins viz., *Valavani vamadevi* and *Chaukadiya-Trisuli* contain 1 tola 6 mahsas of silver per 100 coins; their rate is 57 per (silver) tankah. The coins called *terahasai maroti* contain 2 tola of silver per 100 coins and their rate is 90 per (silver) tankah. The coins called *Uchhai multathani* contains 9 mashas of silver per 100 coins, their rate is 130 per (silver) tankah. The coins called *Marakuttiya* (maroti-igani) and *Sukari* that stamped with the numerals 1299 and contain 1 tola ½ masha of silver per 100 coins; their rate is 87 (per silver tankah). The coins named *Siraji* contain 2 tolas 6 mashas of silver per 100 coins; tier rate is 41 tankah. The coins named *Mukhatalafi* contain 1 tola 10 mashas of silver per 100 coins; their rate is 47 per tankah."

In the above statement Thakkur Pheru mentioned 10 varieties of Mas'ud billon coins. The names cited for each variety is not sufficient to sort out them from among the extant coins. Only in the case of *Sukari* he has given a clue for identification. It is that these coins are stamped with the numerals 1299. Practically on the coins of variety of the first type we have this figure written on the jhul and hump of the bull so we can say with certainly that this variety was called by Pheru as *Sukari*. But why it was so called is not known to us. If he had not given us this clue we could not be able to identify it. In the case of other 9 names he has not mentioned any such clue; so it is difficult for us to identify them with certainly. Still I have formed my own opinion to identify some of them. The coins *Terahasai Maroti* of Thakkur Pheru may be identified with the extant coins of the first type; because on these coins we have the numerals 1300 which in *Apabhramsa Prakrit* (the language of the *Dravya Pariksha* called as "teraha sau" (i.e. 1300) and hence this name having the Nagari legend "Sri Shalifah (Khalifah)" may be identified with the *Mukhatalafa* coins of Pheru, as this word has the root "Khalifah". The coins "Siraji" of Pheru having the root "Siraj" means the "Sun" which is dazzling among the

Planets, may be identified with the extant third type of coins which bears Arabic legends on both the face. Because this type of coins since the time of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam contained highest percentage of silver among all the billon coins and its colour was therefore more bright, and for this reason it might have been so named by Pheru. According to Smith's assay the second type of Mas'ud's billon coins contain more or less the same percentage of silver as Pheru mentioned for his *Valavani vamadevi* and *Chaukadiya trisuli* coins. Mas'ud's second type coins were the products of two mint viz. Delhi and badaun which are distinguished by the style of horseman motif. In my opinion these two varieties based on two mints, may be identified with the two named of Pheru-the Delhi issued as *Valavani vamadevi* and the Badaun issues as *Chaukadiya-trisuli*. These two coins had the same denominational value. Other four coins of Pheru (viz., *Kalhani*, *valvaniya lkangi*, *Marakuttiya* and *Uchhai Mulatani*) would correspond with the rest of the varieties of Mas'ud's extant coins, but which one is which is not possible to identify until we get more information about them.

All the coins mentioned by Pheru are on tanka (i.e. 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns) in weight but they have different silver content. So, they may be distinguished as multiple and sub-divisions of a *jital* as follows:

Name	Silver Content	Denomination
1. Siraji	.276 gms / 4.25 gns	2 jitals
2. Kalhani	.257 gms / 3.96 gns	1 ¼ jitals
3. Mukhtalafi	.202 gms / 3.11 gns	1 jitals
4. Valavani Vamadevi	.1663 gms / 2.56 gns	1 jitals
5. Malavaniya lkangi	.1663 gms / 2.56 gns	1 jitals
6. Chaukadiya Trisuli	.1286 gms / 1.98 gns	2/3 jitals
7. Marakuttiya (Maroti Igani)	.115 gms / 1.77 gns	2/3 jitals
8. Sukari (Stamped with 1299)	1.115 gms / 1.77 gns	2/3 jitals
9. Terahasi Maroti	.1104 gms / 1.70 gns	2/3 jitals
10. Uchha Mulathani	.827 gms / 1.274 gns	½ jitals

In the foregoing statement it is noticed that the coins of the same denomination were issued in several varieties. Their silver content is some

cases were equal and in others slightly different. As the value of the coins was not written on them this differences creates confusion as to whether they were of equal value or not. But there is no scope of such confusion. We know that this kind of minor differences in silver content among the coins of the same denomination used to occur at that time either for the under developed technology in making alloy of metals or for shortage of silver. Whatever might have been the reason behind this differences, it was officially overlooked and their denominated values was treated as the same. Thakkur Pheru, the Khalji mint-master, tell us that the dugani and Chahagani coins of Ala uddin Muhamamad Khalji has two varieties, each and their silver content were slightly different. The silver contents of coins of earlier period were slightly higher than the later ones, but their denominational value was the same. In consideration of these facts that minor differences in silver contents in Mas'ud's above listed billon coins have been overlooked and those varieties have more less similar silver contents are taken as the coins of same denomination.

Before Ma'us the lowest billon denomination was on jital. Its sub-division did not exist in billon but in copper coins. Mas'ud issued two lower subdivisions of jitals in billon. They are $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ *jital*. By issuing these he the need of the copper coins and thereby stopped the issuance of the latter (i.e., copper coins).

Besides these Delhi and Badaun coins of Ma'ud, a few gold and silver *tanka*hs were also issued in his name from Lakhnauti (Bengal). These coins do not bear mint-name and date of them. But from circumstantial evidences it appears that they were struck by Tamur Kha, the governor of Bengali in the name of the Delhi Sultan.

'Izz uddin' Tughrill Tughan Khan, whom Tamar Khan succeeded, had issued earlier similar gold and silver *tanka*hs in the name of Raziyah but during Bahram and Mas'ud he seemed not to have issued any coin. In the reign of the latter Khan ousted Tughril and occupied the governorship of Lakhnauti in the beginning of 642 A.H. / 1244 A.D. as stated before.

The Khalifah's name on Mas'ud's Bengal coins is seen only of Al-Mustanis. Not a single issued with the name of Al-Must'ansir has come to light as yet. It has already been stated that al-Mustansir had died in 640 A.H. but the news reached Delhi in 641 A.H. It took more time to reach Bengal. Actually it did not reach there in the reign of Mas'ud but in that of his successor Mahmud. Some earlier coins of the later Sultan issued in 644 A.H. from Bengal also bear al-Mustansir's name on them. Tamar Khan as we are told, reached Lakhnauti on 10 Zulhaj, 651 A.H./ 17 May, 1244 A.D., with the army.³⁴ He might have occupied it in Muhrram, 642 / June, 1244 A.D. and thereafter he issued these coins.

Masud's gold and silver tankahs of Bengal follows the pattern of his Delhi silver tankahs and have almost the same obverse and reverse except some minor variation. On the obverse of the Delhi coins the Khalifah's name is mentioned simply as "Al-Mustanis" but on the Bengal issued the word "billah" is suffixed to it. Moreover, after "amir al-mu'minin" we have an additional word either "billah" or "Ahmad" on Bengal coins which are not seen on Delhi *tankahs*. The peculiar letting of the word "amir" on Bengal *tankahs* is also distinctive. The reverse legend coins of both the places is the same but its line arrangement on Bengal issues is slightly different. Here two words "Shah" and "Sultan" after "Mas'ud" and "bin" respectively have been written above their preceding words and thereby created a third line above the fourth one covering the last half of the space, the first half being blank. These became, however, the special features of his Bengal coins. Why the two words "lillah" and "Ahmad" is exclusively written only on Bengal coins is not the least clear. Does it mean to express gratitude towards Allah and his prophet* by Tamar Khan after his success in occupying Bengal?

Mas'ud's Bengal gold coin is known from solitary specimen found in Calcutta in 1909 A.D.³⁵ and is now in the National Museum of Bangladesh. It bears the word "Lillah" at the end of the obverse legend. A die-duplicate

* Whose second name was Ahmad, the First name being Muhammad

of this gold *tankah* in silver was discovered in a hoard at Gauhati (Assam) in 1880. The coin is now in the Indian Museum Calcutta. A third coin which is also in silver and is now in the Indian Museum Calcutta bears the word "Ahmad" instead of "lillah".

5. Nasir uddin Mahmud (644 A.H./ 1246-1266 A.D.)

After Masud Nasir uddin Mahmud was put to the throne by the members of the Forty particularly their leader, Balban. The new Sultan had bitter experience in witnessing the circumstances under which the Forty had put their four predecessors on the throne one after another and killed them later like sacrificial goats. He observed that since the death of Iltutmish the Forty had become supreme. They were the makers and unmakers of the Sultan and the latter's conflict with them brought his own destruction. So after his accession to the throne he thought it wise to delegate all his power into the hands of Forty particularly Balban, their leader, which he had practically and became secure. He strengthened it further by marrying a daughters of Balban.*

During the reign of Mahmud there was continues trouble in Mulan and Sindh and these two places for the most time remained beyond his control. The Mongols who had settled in Ghazni raided Punjab and occupied a large area of it but their further advance was checked. In Bengal its governor Ikhtiyar uddin Yuzbak was initially loyal to him but in later days he declared his independence. Before taking any action against him by the centre, he was slain in an expedition against Kamrup. After him Malik Jalal uddin Mas'ud Jani was made its governor on 18 December, 1259 A.D. and Delhi's authority was thus restored. Soon we hear of Izz uddin Balban Uzbek as the governor of Bengal (Lakhnauti) who sent on 8 June 1259 A.D. some costly presents to Delhi. The Sultan acknowledged his service and send (*missal*) similar present to him.

* This marriage was Solemnized in the fourth regnal year on 2 August, 1249 A D.

Coinage

Since the reign of Iltutmish Delhi was issuing tankah coins regularly in silver only. Bengal was also issuing them but in both silver and gold. Besides *tankahs* there were also billon *jitals* and copper coins in the currency of the Sultanate. These two coins were not issued from Bengal. They were minted in Delhi and Badaun.

The types and metrology adopted by Iltutmish for his coinage by reforming those of his predecessors, Muhammad bin sam, were followed by his immediate four successors* without any change. It was only in the reign of Nasir uddin Mahmud that we notice some additions in the traditional currency system of Sultanate. He issued gold tankah for the first time from Delhi mint which was continued after him by his successors. He also issued two other silver denomination viz., $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ *tankah* known as *nisf tankah* (half) and *masha* respectively. These two denominations did not exist in the currency before him. Earlier Badaun did not issue silver coins but he started to issue it from this mint too.

[Mahmud's *tankah* coins followed the pattern of the coinage of his predecessors showing the Khalifah's name on the obverse in the specific formula of legend and on the reverse his own name and titles. His Delhi coins, therefore, bear the legend "Fi" and al-imam Al-Must'asim amir al-mu minin" on the obverse and "Al-Sultan al-Azam nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mahmud ibn (or bin) al-Sultan" on the reverse. Both the faces of these coins have similar marginal legends bearing the date and mint as "zuriba hazihi" al-sikkah (or fiddah) bi-hazarat Delhi fi sanah" (then the date in Arabic words that vary on coins of different dates). On the gold *tankah* after "hazihi" the word "sikkah" is used on that of silver it is "fiddah".]

[In 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.) the Mongol Chief Halagu Khan killed Al-Must'asim billah and thereby brought an end to the chain of the Abbasid Khalifat in Baghdad. For next, two years there was no Khalifah's in the

* They are Rukh uddin Firuz, Jalalat uddin Raziya, Mu'iz uddin Bahram and Ala uddin Masud

world of Islam. After that Beibers I, the Mamluk Sultan of Cairo invited an Abbasid scion named Al-Mustansir to his kingdom and declared him as the Khalifah. Thus a new series of the Abbasid Khaliat in Cairo was revived while this was noticed in India.]

[Here Sultan Nasir uddin Mahmud was continuing the name of the deceased Khaifah al-Must'asim on his coins. Why he did not acknowledge the new Abbasid Khaliah at Cairo and continued to show allegiance to Al-Must'asim who was no more in the world, is difficult to say. However, on all his tankah coins the only name of Al-Must'asim is seen.]

The earliest of his *tankah* coins so far discovered is that of silver. It is dated in 644 A.H. the year of his accession. Every year of his reign beginning with 644 A.H. down to 664 A.H. is represented by his silver *tankahas* with a few gaps (i.e., 646, 648 and 651 A.H.) The Delhi silver *tankahs* may be distinguished into seven varieties their minor variations occurred only in ornamental marks and area lines.

No gold coin of Mahmud prior to 653 has come to light as yet. The earliest one which is dated in 653 A.H. is known from a single specimen in the Delhi Museum. (Cat No. 15, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.46). Next issues, so far discovered are dated in 657 (or 9), 658, 661, 662 and 663 A.H.

The Badaun silver *tankahs* have the same obverse and reverse legends as on the Delhi coins but they have no marginal legend. The min name is written in the top segment. Only one specimen of this coin has been noticed so far and it is now in the Provincial Museum Lucknow (Cat No. 16, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.47).

The half *tankahas* (nisf tankah) weigh in the neighborhood of 5.52 gms / 85 gns. Their obverse and reverse are similar to the Delhi *tankahs* save the marginal legend which is missing here due to shortage of space. As such they are dateless. The mint-name though not available on the coins, appears to be Delhi (Cat No. 16, Pl. No. VI, Fig. No.48). Only one

specimen has so far been discovered. It was originally in the Cabinet of Mr. C.S. Delmaaerick,²⁸ but now it is in Delhi museum.

The 1/12 *tankah* (masha) coins are very small. They weigh in the vicinity of .92 gms / 14.167 gns and have on their one side the legend "Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam" and on the other "Nasir al-duniya wa al-din". On one specimen Rodgers read "al-'azam" in place of "al-muzzam" but the reading is doubtful.

The billon coins of this ruler are only of one type showing horseman to right on one side and the Arabic legend "A-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din" on the other. They may be distinguished as Delhi and Badaun coins by the difference in the depiction of the horseman. While the coins bearing the Badaun type horseman have no legend on this side, the Delhi coins, on the other hand, have the name "Muhmud" in Arabic written above the horseman, and to the right of face of the horse, the title "Sri hamirah" in Nagari (Cat No. 16, Pl. No. VII, Fig. No.49).

In the *Dravya Pariksha* we are told by Thakkur Pheru that the coins named Nasiri of the Delhi mint contain 2 tolas per 100 specimen, their rate is 50 per (silver) *tankah*. The coins named Dakkari contain 1 tola 8 mashas (in table 8½ masha) of silver per 100 specimen, their rate is 55 per *tankah*." Though Pheru does not mention who issued these two coins, yet it appears that they were issued by Nasir uddin Muhmud. So, on the authority of Pheru, we now can tell that Mahmud's Delhi type billon coins discussed above, were called *Nasiri* and Badaun type coins, *Dakkari*. According to *Dravya Pariskah* the former contained .222 gms / 3.44 gns and the latter .190 gms / 2.93 gns of silver. S.W. Smith* assayed both the coins. His assay of the *Nasiri* coins gave the silver resultant .21 gns per coin. So, there is similarity between the statement of *Dravya Pariksha* and the assay result by Smith. The slight differences that we see between them is negligible and such difference always existed at that time between

* He was the chief Assayer of the Royal Mint of Britain.

reverse the legend is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzzafar Mahmu'ud Shah Bin Sultan". No marginal legend on these coins is seen. The word "lillah" at the end of the obverse legend is a peculiarity of Bengal coins as mentioned earlier. After Mahmud the word "Shah" is added on the coins of Lakhnauti (Cat No. 17, Pl. No. VII, Fig. No.51), but it is not seen on those of Delhi. A silver counterpart of this gold coins has also been discovered. It has exactly the same obverse and reverse legend on the gold coin. The only difference seen on the silver issue is the existence of the ornamental scrolls in segments (Cat No. 17, Pl. No. VII, Fig. No.52). This coin was attributed earlier by Thomas to Nasir uddin Mahmud, the eldest son of Iltutmish,³⁷ who was governor of Bengal and died in 626 A.H. (= 1229 A.D.). This attribution, however, has been convincingly refuted by Hoernle. But Hoernle has blundered when he remarked that this and the above gold coin were the products of Delhi mint. That these two coins were issued from Lakhnauti mint (in Bengal) has been propounded by H.N. Wright in his statement that one may venture to disagree with Hoernle's conclusion that the mint from which these two coins came was Delhi asset with some confidence that they were of Bengal origin. They bear a striking resemblance in lettering and style to those coins which are admittedly of Bengal mintage. The method, for instance, of writing "amir" and "ala" on the obverse is characteristic of the Bengal issues of the time, and it may be noted on the above mentioned two coins (which is Lakhnauti coin) all call the Emperor "Muhmud Shah bin Sultan. Their obverse are identical with those of the gold and silver tankahs of Ma'ud both of which had their province in the Bengal quarter. The absence of gold Delhi *tankahs* earlier than 653 A.H. combined with their regular issue subsequently and their careful record of the mind is also against the above gold coin hailing from Delhi. It is reasonable assumption that this coin and its corresponding silver *tankah* were struck in 644 A.H. a hurried issue making use of an existing obverse die either inadvertently or perhaps in ignorance, owing to the distance from the capital, of the change in Khalifat."³⁸

However, when the news of Khalifah Al-Must'asim's accession reached Bengal new coins were issued with his name replacing that of Al-Mustanir as told earlier. These coins seem to have been struck in 645 A.H. Such coins have also been discovered. On one variety of these coins the obverse legend is "Fi'ahd al-imam Al-Must'asim amir al-mu'minin" in the centre and the margin around, is "zuriba hazihi tankah bi Lakhnauti", then the date in Arabic words which is cut off. On the reverse the legend is the same as on the gold coin, but some additional inscriptions are seen in the segments which is "Zuriba bilad Hind" i.e., struck in the country of India.

All these coins from Lakhnauti mint were issued by Ikhtiyar uddin Yuzbak in the name of the Nasir uddin Muhmud and he did not mention his own name anywhere of these coins. But soon he was thinking to declare his independence which he ultimately did in 653 A.H. as discussed above. When he was mediating this independence he joined his own name at the end of the reverse legend of one type of coins which were actually issued in the name of Mahmud. The obverse legend of this type is similar to that of the above coins. The obverse legend of this type is similar to that of the above coins. The date in the margin which could be read is six hundred fifty and then the digit which is not clear. On the reverse the legend is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzafar Mehmud bin al-Sultan... Yuzbak". According to Hoernle this coin might have been issued in 651 A.H. which seems to be correct. Because Yuzbak's own coins as independent Sultan are dated in 653 A.H.

After a while we have again some coins in the only name of Mahmud issued from Bengal in 655 A.H. These coins bear on the obverse the same legend on the above coins but the date in the margin is clearly Safar, 655 A.H. The reverse legend is also almost the same as on the other coins of Bengal issued earlier with a minor variation in the last part. Here "Shah" after Mahmud is dropped and "ibn al-Sultan" is written replacing "bin Sultan". These coins may be regarded as marking the

termination of Yuzbak's independence and the restoration of Delhi's authority over Bengal with the appointment of "Izz uddin Balban Uzbeg as governor there.

6. Ghiyas uddin Balban *664-686 A.H. 1266-1287 A.D.)

On the death of Nasir uddin Mahmud, Balban who was his father-in-law as well as the chief of Forty, himself became the Sultan. His original *laqab* was Baha uddin, and Sultan Nasir uddin Mahmud has bestowed upon him that of Ulugh Khan. On this accession to the throne he set aside both the previous *laqabs* and adopted a new one which is "Ghiyas uddin". So, throughout his reign he was known by this *laqab* only and his full imperial name as Ghiyas uddin balban.

During this reign the robbers and miscreants of Mewat, Awadh and the Doab regions became a great menace to the public life in those areas and even to the capital city Delhi. Balban took effective measures against them. He massacred all the bad elements and established peace and order in those areas.

In north-west the Mongols were often raiding his kingdom. They occupied a large area of the Punjab upto Lahore. Balban sent an army against them and reoccupied Lahore, but the area beyond the river Ravi could not be recovered. He posted a permanent garrison there and checked their further incursions.

In the distant province of Lakhnauti (Bengal) Tatar Khan, son of Arsalan Khan, was ruling almost independently. When he heard the news of Balban's accession he voluntarily acknowledged his suzerainty and sent him sixty three elephants as present. On Tatar Khan's death in 1268 A.D. Sher Khan, a member of Arsalan's family, became the governor. He was also loyal to Balban. After him Balban appointed Tughril Khan, his own slave, as the governor of Lakhnauti in about 1269 A.D. Tughril was very brave and energetic man. He invaded Jajnagar (Orissa) several times and acquired a huge booty from there. This made him ambitious. He revolted

against Balban and declared his independence. Balban sent his forces twice there but without success. Then he himself marched to Bengal. He killed Tughrill and appointed his own son Mahmud called Bughra Khan as the governor.

Except these few events Balban's reign of long twenty years was calm, peaceful and tranquil. He died a natural death.

Coinage

[Balban issued his gold and silver tankahs following the type of metrology of coinage of his predecessors where we have the name of the 'Abbasid Khalifah on the obverse and his own name and title on the reverse. Like Nasir uddin Mahmud he wrote the name of the deceased Khalifah Al-Must'asim on his tankahs but he modified the formula of the legend. On the earlier coin the legend was "Fi'ahd al-imam Al-Must'asim amir al-mu'minin (i.e. in the reign of the leader, Al-Mustasim, the commander of the faithful). Balban saw that as Al-Must'asim was no more reigning, the writing of "Fi-'abh" (i.e., in the reign of) had no justification. So, he dropped this part of the obverse legend and retained the rest part.] However, all his *tankahs* coins of both gold silver bear on the obverse the legend "Al-imam al-Must'asim amir al-mu'minin" and on the reverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Balban al-Sultan". Both the faces of these coins have the same marginal legend bearing the mint name and date of issue in the common formula as "Zurika hazihi al-Sikkah (in case of gold) or fiddah (in case of silver *tankah*) bi-hazrat Delhi fi sanah" (then the date of Arabic words).

It is mysterious by Balban like his predecessor, Nasir uddin Mahmud, retained the name of the deceased Khalifah, Al-Must'asim, on his coins and did not acknowledge the new Abbasid Khalifah installed at Cairo.

[Balban's *tankah* coins are well struck in bold relief. They follow the standardized types-legends in circular areas for gold and in double square

within circle for silver. No gold coins of the first three years of his reign have so far been noticed. We do not now whether he had issued them during that period or not. His earliest coin in this metal is dated in 667 A.H. After that most of the years of his reign is represented by gold *tankahs*. Those not represented are A.H. 676, 681, 682, 683, 684 and 686. All this gold *tankahs* are of only one type and were issued exclusively from Delhi mint (Cat No. 18, Pl. No. VII, Fig. No.53).

[The silver coins on the other hand are known besides Delhi, of Alwar, Sultanpur and Lakhnauti. Here we have the first instance of the extension of mint system in this reign.] Delhi on these coins is preceded by "hazarat", and Alwar, Sultanput and Lakhnauti by Khittah (i.e., district). The practice of using "hazarat" before Delhi was started by Iltutmish and was followed his successors, but Khittah before mint-name was used first by Balban.

The coin of Alwar mint is known exclusively of the year 665 A.H. (1265 A.D.) and those of Sultanpur, of 679 A.H (1280-81 A.D.). The coins of these two mints are very rare. These two facts leads us to assume that they might have been camp issues or they were struck commemorating some events occurred there as we see later in the Mughal numismatics. If this assumption is correct then we find here the beginning of the tradition of camps issues. But the contemporary chronicles do not mentioned any spectacular event that might have occurred at these places and necessitated the issue of these coins. However, we venture to suggest that Alwar was the area of the Meos and they were a menace to the country as told above. They were looting and harassing people of the locality and going to the extent of plundering the capital.³⁹ Balban in the very year of his reign, the year which is seen on the coin, had taken serious measures against the Meos. He gave prior importance to it. He devoted the whole year to suppress the Meos an clean up the forest. He crushed the miscreants and brought an end to it. He built a fort at Gopalgir and established many *thanas* (military posts) there so that they can not

grow again. It is quite likely that this success might have prompted Balban to issue these coins.

As regards Sultanpur it is very difficult to identify the place. The name is very much common and several places of this name are found in northern India. Irfan Habib in his 'An Atlas of the Mughal Empire' has listed four places of this name. One of them is situated on the east bank of the river Beas in the Kapurthala state of Punjab. It is likely that Balban's coins were issued from this place. We are told that in order to check the Mongol incursions Balban had garrisoned many places of this area and the overall charge of these places was entrusted to his eldest son Muhammad. It is not unlikely that some notable victory over the Mongols in the year 679 A.H. might have taken place of which the chroniclers did not take any notice but these coins are the indications of that.

About Lakhnauti we need not say much as we know that the coins were being struck there from the earliest period by the governors of this province either to show their allegiance to the Delhi Sultan voluntarily or on the restoration of Delhi's authority over there after the subjugation of a rebellion. The coins of Balban from Lakhnauti are known of the dates 667 (or) A.H. / 1269 (or 71) A.D. and 673 A.H. / 1275-5 A.D. The first date is A.H. 667 / 1269 A.D. then it falls within the period of the governorship of Sher Khan.⁴⁰ In that case the probable reasons behind its issue would be that Sher Khan had struck it to show his loyalty to Balban. But if it is 669 A.H./1271 A.D. then it would fall in the period of the governorship of Tughril. In that case we are to say that after taking the charge of the governorship of this province Tughril had issued it as a token of loyalty to his master.

Tughril, originally a slave of Balban, was a brave and resourceful man. He had several expeditions as told earlier towards Jainagar (Orissa) and acquired much booty from there. The dates of these expeditions are not recorded by the chroniclers. It is not unlikely that his first successful

expedition occurred in 673 A.H. / 1274-5 A.D. which commemorated by issuing the coins bearing this date.

Balban's all silver *tankahas* are of only one type; but they have some minor variation in their mintnames, ornamental marks and area lines, by which they may be distinguished into several varieties. His Delhi coins, therefore, are of two varieties (Cat No. 18, Pl. No. VII, Fig. No.54, 55) and those of Alwar, Sultanput and Lakhnauti of one each (The coins of Alwar (Cat No. 19, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No. 56); of Sultanpur, (Cat No. 19, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No.57) of Lakhnauti, (Cat No. 19, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No. 58).

Besides, the silver *tankahs*, his silver *mashas* of the value of 1/12 *tankah*, in the pattern introduced by Nasir uddin Mahmud are also known from Delhi.⁴¹ They bear "Al-Sultan al-'azam" on one side and "Ghiyas al-duniya wa-al-din" on the other. This is the only fractional coins in this meat known of Balban (Cat No. 20, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No. 59).

The billon *jitals* of this Sultan are of two types. One has the traditional Delhi type horseman on one side and the Arabic legend "al-Sultan al-'azam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din" on the other. His reign sees the last appearance of the motif of horseman on the billon *jitals*. After issuing a few coins of this type he discarded this motiff from the coinage of the Sultanate for ever. After him no Sultanate is seen to reintroduce it. Only one specimen of this type has so far been recorded. It belonged to general Cunningham but seems to have been lost in the sea with so many other coins of his collection. On the other type the horseman is replaced by the name of "Balban" in Arabic within a circle and the Nagari legend "Sri sultan Gayasudin" around it. The other side has the same Arabic legend as on the former (Cat No. 20, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No. 60.).

Thakkur Pheru mentions only one denomination of the billon coins of Balban. He says, "The coins named Gayasi *dugani* contain 10 tankas (3 *tolas* 4 *mashas*) of silver in 102-103 specimens. Their rate is 27 per (silver) *tankah*." So it indicates that Balban's billon coins of both the types were of

the same denomination which was *dugani (jital)* or two *jitals*. According to his estimation each coin contained .367 gms / 5.66 gns of silver. Smith's assay of the above mentioned second type coins also corroborates this estimation. The rate of these coins mentioned by Pheru is calculated on the basis of their metal value. Their denominational value being *dugani jitals* or two *jitals*; 30 specimens of these coins were equal to one silver tankah.

The copper coins of Balban were of two types. One bears the legend "Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam or 'azam" on one side and "Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din" on the other. The coins of this type may be distinguished as of three denominations viz., Paika (5 *viswas* weighing approximately 4.54 gms / 70 gns) (Cat No. 20, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No.61), 4 *viswas* (about 3.63 gms / 56 gns) and 2½ *viswas* or *adhawa* (about 2.27 gms / 35 gns). Those of the other type have on one side "adl Ghiyasi" and on the other the mint-name either "bi-hazarat Delhi" or bi-Fakhrabad or "Sultanpur". The Delhi coins of this type was known of two denominations viz., 2 *viswas* (1.88 gms / 29 gns) (Cat No. 21, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No.62) and 1 *viswa* (.94 gms / 14.5 gns). The Fakhrabad coins of 2½ *viswas* or *adhawa* (2.32 gms / 35.8 gns).

Fakhrabad is a mint of which no silver coin is known. Previously it could not be identified. Irfan Habib has mentioned a place of this name in north Bihar near Berain. This may be the place from which Balban issued these coins. It was within the territory of Balban, but the importance of this place which led him to issue these coins is not known.

7. Mu'iz uddin Kaiqubad (686 A.H. – 689 A.H./ 1287-1290 A.D.)

Before his death Balban had nominated his grandson, Kaikhusru, son of prince Muhammad, as his successor to the throne, but on this death Malik Fakhr uddin, the Kotwal of Delhi, disregarded his wishes and places

Kaiqubad son of Bughra Khan, on the throne of Delhi.* On his accession Kaiqabad adopted for himself the *laqab* of Mu'iz udin. He was then seventeen or eighteen years of age. The new Sultan had no interest in the administration of the kingdom. He left it to his officers and himself led a licentious life. He built a magnificent palace on the bank of the Yamuna at the Kilugarhi and spent all his time there in a world of pleasure and revelry. In his absence Malik Nizam uddin, a nephew and son-in-law of Malik Fakhr uddin Kotwal, looked after the state affairs. Nizam uddin was a good administrator but cruel in his actions which created resentment among the maliks and amirs. Ultimately he was poisoned to death.

After Nizam uddin Kaiqubad summoned Malik Firuz Khalji from Samana and appointed him ariz-i-Mamalik (army minister) and governor of Baran with the title of Shaista Khan. This elevation of Firuz Khalji was not liked by the Turki Amirs who were against him. Actually, the king's indifference towards the court let the amirs and maliks divided into two groups, one comprised those who were of Turki origin. They were claiming their aristocracy and enjoying upper hand in the state service; their leader was Malik Firuz Khalji was the leader of this group. While this nasty politics was prevailing in the court of Kaiqubad, his favour to Firuz Khalji at that moment was resented by the Turki amirs. They disliked the Sultan who was at that time suffering from paralysis and was completely inactive. Taking advantage of his incapability the Turki amirs led by Malik Surkha installed Kaiqubad's three years old son, Kayumars, on the throne and started to work at their sweet will. Thus Kaiqubad's reign ended after a short period of three years.

* Told by Ibn Batuta that at the time of Balban's death Fakhr uddin Kotwal prepared a forged document of the effect that all Maliks and Amirs had accepted Kaiqubad's accession showed it to Ikkhusru and advised him to fly to Multan. Ikkhusru had no alternative but to do it. So he went to Multan. Later he was murdered at the order of Kaiqubad.

Coinage

Kaiqubad issued his coins in all the four metals – gold, silver, billon and copper and in them he followed the type, fabric and metrology of the earlier coinage.

The gold and silver *tankhas* are known of all the three years of his reign i.e., 686, 687 and 688 A.H. Like Balban he too made two different arrangements of area-lines for the tankahas of two methils. One of the gold *tankhas* the legend is written in single circle but on those of silver it is in double square within a circle. The obverse legend of these coins is the same as we see on the *tankahs* of Balban where the name of the deceased Khalifah Al-Must 'asim is seen. The legend therefore is "Al-imam Al-Must'asim is seen. On the reverse we have the name of title of the Sultan himself as "Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar kaiqubad al-Sultan". The marginal legend seen on their obverse – that on the reverse being out of flan, bears the mint-name Delhi, and the date in the Arabic words (Cat No. 21, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No.63) of gold and (Cat No. 21, Pl. No. VIII, Fig. No. 64); of silver.

Besides, *tankahs* he issued some silver fractional coins. The tradition of issuing fractional coins in silver started with Iltutmish who struck 1/2 tankah. After a long gap of four rules Nasir udin Muhmud issued a masha coin or 1/12 of a *tankah* in addition to 1/2 *tankah*. Balban issued only masha coins of not 1/2 tankah. In the reign of Kaiqubad we notice the introduction of two more fractional denominations viz., 1/3 and 1/6 tankah.

The 1/3 *tankah* of kaiqubad weighs in the proximity of 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns. It bears on the obverse "al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "zuriba bi-hazarat Delhi fi sanah sitta wa samanina wa sitta miyah" (i.e., struck in Delhi in 686 A.H.). This coin is known only of the year 686 A.H. (Cat No. 22, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.65). The reverse legend on this coin bearing the date and mint name written in the central area is noteworthy. Generally the date and mint name on the

Sultani coins used to be written in the marginal space and not in the centre. But here they have been written in the centre which is a departure from the traditional system and has the peculiarity of this coin. A similar departure was noticed earlier on one variety of the *tankah* of rukh uddin Firuz but the system was discontinued later. Kaiqubad though revived it on his $1/3$ *tankah*, it was again discontinued.

The coins of other two denominations (i.e, $1/6$ and $1/12$) are identical in their legends, and they disclose neither the mint-name nor the date. They have simply "al-Sultan al'azam" in Arabic on one side and "Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din" on the other. The only remarkable difference between them, besides, the weight, is that the legend on $1/6$ *tankah* is written in the square area-line on both the faces (Cat No. 22, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.66) while on the *masha* (or $1/12$ *tankah*) they are on plain faces (Cat No. 22, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.67).

Kaiqubad's billon *jitals* so far discovered are of a single type. They follow the standard weigh of one *tanka* (or 4 *mashas* i.e., 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns) and bear on the obverse the Arabic legend "al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse the name "kaiqubad" in Arabic at the tope and the title "Sri Sultan Muizudi" in Nagari in the lower two liens (Cat No. 23, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.68).

In the statement of Thakkur Pheru was have also the reference on only one denomination of his billon coins. He says, "The *Mauzi tigani*" contain 5 *tolas* of silver per 100 coins and their rate is 20 (per silver *tankah*). so, there is not doubt that the above extant *jital* was called Pheru as "Mauzi tigani" or three *gani* (*jitals* of Mu'iz uddin Kaiqubad). According to Pheru each coin contains .522 gms / 8.5 gns of silver. Smith's assay also shows the similar result. The value of each coin was $1/20$ *tankah*. So, 20 pieces were equivalent to one *tankah* (of silver).

Some denominations coins of Kaiqubad are as follows:

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt.	Name and denom.	Ref.
1	In double circle, the outer one of dots "Al-Sultan al-'azam"	In double circle "Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din"	4.155-3.896 gms / 64-60 gns	Paika (or 5 viswa) $k\frac{1}{4}$ of a <i>jital</i> .	Cat No 23, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.69
2c cc x .	Within interesting squares "Adl Mu'iz"	Within interesting squants "Bi Hazarat Dehli"	1.883 – 1.46 gms / 29-22.5 gns.	Du-viswa 1/10 of a <i>Jital</i>	Cat No 23, Pl. No IX, Fig. No 70

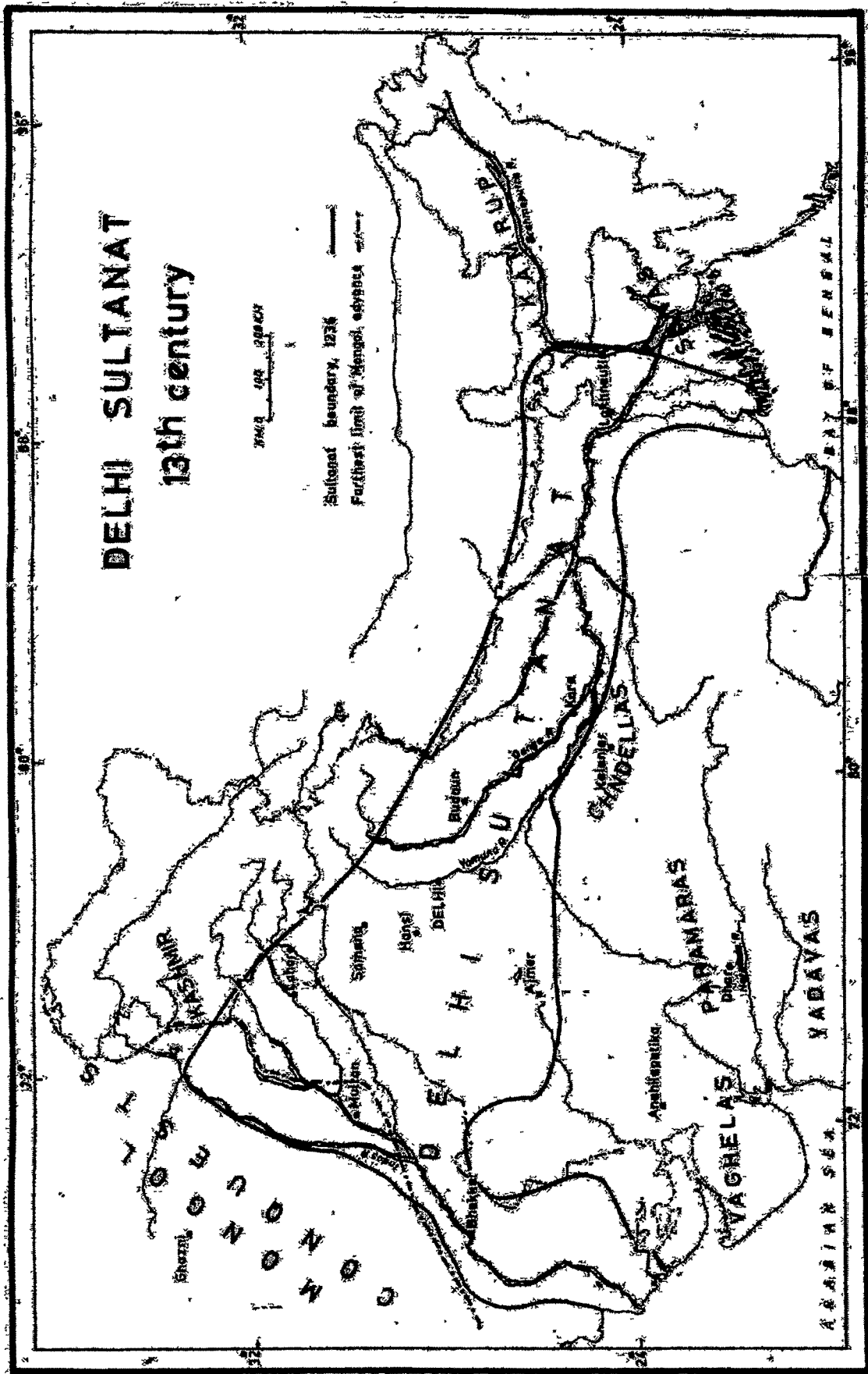
All the coins of Kaiqubad were issued from Delhi mint only.

DELHI SULTANAT 13th century

Scale 100 miles

Sultanat boundary, 1236

Farthest limit of Mongol, c. 1290-1294



CHAPTER – III

COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ILTUTMISH

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CHAPTER – IV

COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE KHALJIS

1. Historical Background

[The Turki dynasty (1206-1290 A.D.) of Delhi was supplanted by a] new one known as the Khalji (1290-1320 A.D.).* It was founded by Jalal uddin Firuz Khalji (1290-1296 A.d.) who had served earlier under Balban as army officer and under Kaiqubad as the *ariz-i-mamalik* (army minister) as well as the governor of Baran.] During Kaiqubad when the *amirs* and *maliks* were divided into two groups, he led the non-Turki faction of nobles consisting of the Khaljis and the native offices. He frustrated the Turki oligarchy and established the non-Turkey regime. By deposing the last Turki Sultan Kayumars, he occupied the throne and founded his own rule. He ascended the throne at the age of 75 years with the name of Jalal] uddin Firuz. His coronation was held in 1290 A.d. at Kulugarhi, a place little away to the south from Delhi. Initially, for some months, he ruled from there and did not dare enter into Delhi. For, the Turki *amirs* who were the supported of the previous government were still active there. The people of Delhi were also indifferent to him. But within a short time he won over all the people by showing his generosity towards them.[The *amirs* and *maliks* were also won over by appointing them at various high posts in the administration. Malik Chajju, the nephew of Balban was granted the governorship of Kara. Malik Fakhr uddin was confirmed as the Kotwal. Afterwards when Jalal uddin became sure of his security he entered into] Delhi and started to rule from the old capital of the Sultanate.

Jala uddin Firuz as an army officer had a brilliant career, but as ruler he was an utter failure. Being whimsical in actions he did many follies. He pardoned the rebels like Chajju and Hatim Khan and

* Reign: 689-695 A.H / 1290-19 July 1296 A.D.

entertained them with feats. He released robbers and criminals by simply giving them admonition. While he was so generous towards the undesirable he was cruel toward Sidi Mawla, an innocent saint whom he brutally murdered. These activities made him unpopular even to his own people.

Jalal uddin was against the policy of expansion of the territory at the loss of Muslim life. His own expedition against Ranthambhor in 1290 A.D. was withdrawn for the same reason. Of course his nephew and son-in-law Ala uddin Khalji who was the governor of Kara and Awadh, achieved victory over Malwa and Devagiri, but those were undertaken without the consent of the Sultan. His death was pathetic. When he received the news of Ala uddin's victory in his southern expedition. The Sultan with a view to giving him a warm welcome came forward to Manikpur in Kara* where he was treacherously murdered by Ala uddin† on 20 July, 1296 A.D. 917 *Ramzan*, 695 A.H.).¹

Jalal uddin during his life-time had nominated his elder son Arkali Khan as his successor to the throne. But when the news of his death, reached Delhi Arkali was in Multan. So *Malika-i-Jahan*, the widow of Jalal uddin, consulted the problem with the nobles and put her younger son Rukh uddin Ibrahim on the throne. Ala uddin, on the other hand, after murdering Jalal uddin, marched to Delhi and occupied the throne on 3 October, 1296 A.D. Ibrahim fled to Multan but was imprisoned and blinded. Ibrahim's reigns lasted only for two and half months.[†]

Ala uddin's (1296-1326 A.D.) format name was Malik Gurshasp. He ascended the throne with the name of Ala uddin Muhammad Shah. After Muhammad bin Sam he was the first ruler to take initiative for further expansion of the kingdom. The territories which Muhammad bin Sam had conquered, more or less, was the domain of the Sultanate of Delhi during

* Near Allahabad U.P.

† 20 July-30 October 1296 A.D.

this successors till Ala uddin. Some weak rules even failed to maintain their hold over the whole area and had lost a consider part of it. Ala uddin consolidated the kingdom and annexed Gujarat (in 1294 A.D.), Ranthambhor (in 1301 A.D.). Thus be brought under his sway the whole of northern India except Bihar² and Bengal.

He also sent expeditions to the Deccan under the command of this general Malik Kafur and conquered Devagiri (in 1307 A.D.), Telingana (in 1310 A.D.), Dwarasamudra and Madura (in 1311 A.D.). But instead of annexing these far kingdoms to his own territory he showed the wisdom of restoring them to their previous rulers on their acknowledging his suzerainty and paying regular tribute.

During him the Mongols invaded his kingdom several times but were beaten back out of the country. For a protective measure against the Mongols he recruited a huge army on permanent basis. This army was sent from to time for expeditions towards the South which earned for him great victories. For the maintenance of the army he undertook some economic reforms which was beneficial for the citizens of Delhi also. Thus Ala uddin had a peaceful and glorious reign of 20 years. During his last days he became victim of the court intrigues and was poisoned to death by Malik Kafur who was once is trusted general. Ala uddin had four sons by his two wives. Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Mubarak by his first wife and Umar by the second. During this life time he had nominated his eldest son, Khizr Khan, as his heir-apparent, but his naib, Malik Kafur, disliked this nomination. So just before Ala uddin's death he secretly managed to get his signature on a document canceling the previous nomination and declaring 'Umar, the youngest son of six years as his successor.

On Ala uddin's death Malik Kafur installed Umar with the name of Shihab uddin 'Umar on the throne in 1316 A.D. and himself became his regent. He married Shihab uddin's mother, the widow of the Sultan, and became the real ruler. In order to wide out the probable claimant to the throne, he sent agents to blind all the other sons of Ala uddin. All were

blind except Mubarak. When the agents went to him he bribed them and purchased their support. The agents came back, killed Malik Kafur and made Mubarak the regent of Shihab uddin. Two months later Mubarak deposed and blinded Shihab uddin and himself became the Sultan on 14th April, 1316 A.D. 920 *Muharram*, 716 A.H.). Shihab uddin had a short reign of 3 months only.

Mubarak (1316-1320)* ascended the throne with the name of Qutab uddin Mubarak Shah. His accession was highly rejoiced. Titles and honours were conferred on the dignitaries of the state and the reliable officers were promoted to the high posts. The most surprising elevation was that of Hasan who was his slave of the Barvari or Parvari caste of Gujarat. Mubarak bestowed upon him the emoluments and iqta of Malik Naib and raised him to the post of *wazir* with the title of Khusru Khan.

During his rule Gujarat revolted but was quelled. When the news of rebellions in Davagiri and other dependence of South reached Delhi the Sultan marched there leaving his father-in-law, Shahin, at the capital to look after the administration in his absence. He subjugated the rebellions of Davagiri, Gulbarga, Sugar and Dwarasamudra. Unlike his father he annexed these territories to his kingdom and appointed his own governors there. The Sultan then sent Khusru Khan towards Telingana and himself turned back to Delhi. On his return journey he discovered a plot hatched against his life. Asad uddin, the cousin of his father, was detected as its leader. Sultan massacred all the conspirators. The conspiracy had also its root in the capital. During his absence coins were issued in the name of the one Shams uddin Mahmud. But it is still in mystery who this Shams uddin Mahmud was. Asad uddin, Shahin or a son of Khizr Khan? The fact is still in mystery. But the Sultan suspected all three and murdered them all including Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihab uddin who were blinded earlier and were put into imprisonment.

* 716-720 A H /14 April 1316-26 April

Mubarak's success in the Deccan turned his head, and he began to behave in a most irresponsible manner. He spend all his time in the company of women and buffoons. The court turned to be place fu, and through he did not observe fasts and say prayers, he assumed the title of *Al-imam al-Azam* (or the great leader) and *Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin* (or the vicegerent of God) and thereby he made the kingdom of Delhi independence of the Islamic *Khalifat*. As he declared himself *Khalifah* he renamed his capital, Delhi as *Darul-Khilafar* or the house of the *Khalifat*.³

These activities of Mubarak made him unpopular and his administration became weak. Realizing the weakness of the centre Malik Yaklakhi revolted in Devagiri but he was quelled immediately. Khusru Khan, the *wazir*, who subjugated Telingana, Masulipatnam and Mabbar in the south was also thinking to rule there independence, but it was disclosed and he was called back to the capital. When he arrived at Delhi the Sultan welcome him instead of giving him punishment and punished those who disclosed the plot. Thus he lost his reliable men. Khusru Khan's evil deign was still active. He murdered Mubarak on 16 April, 1320 A.D. (= 5 Rabi ul Awwal, 720 A.H.) and usurped the throne. On this accession he assumed the name of Nasir and Khsru Shah. But this usurpation of the throne by Khsru Khan was not accepted the Ghazi Tughlq, the warden of Deopapur. He with the support of some other governors marched on Delhi and killed Khusru on 6 September, 1320 A.D. (1 *Sh'aban*, 720 A.H.). The he ascended the throne with the name of Ghiyas uddin Tughlaq and laid the foundation of the Gughlaq dynasty. Thus ended the rule of the Khaljis (1290-1320 A.D.).

2. Coinage

The Khaljis opened a new chapter in the numismatic history of India. They rendered a great contribution to the reform of the currency system of the Sultanate of Delhi which was made mainly by Ala uddin Muhammad Khalji, the third ruler of the dynasty. The first two rulers, Jala

uddin Firuz and Rukh uddin Ibrahim, followed the pattern of the earlier coinage in type, fabric and metrology.]

2.1 Jala uddin Firuz (A.H. 689-95/AD 1290-96)

[Jalal uddin's coins are the perfect imitations of the coinage of Balban, Kaiqubad and Kayumars with the only change that the previous names were replaced by that of his own. His coins of all the four metals – gold, silver, billon and copper have been discoverer.]

[His gold and silver *tankahas* are known of all the years of his reign from 689-695 A.H. with the only exception of the year 692 A.H. of which no gold coin has surfaced so far.] Like the prototype his tankah coins (of both gold and silver) bear on the obverse the name of the deceased Khalifah in the legend "Al-imam al-Must'asim amir al-mu'minin" and on the reverse his own name and titles as "Al-Sultan al-'azam Jalal al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Firuz Shah al-Sultan". These legends are written in the standardized form i.e., in circle on the gold and in double gold and in double square within circle on the silver *tankahs* as on the prototype. The marginal legend expressing the mint name and date is also seen only on their observe. His gold and silver tankahs are of two varieties each and the variation is noticed only in the line-arrangement of the legend. The earlier variety in both the metals was current from 689-693 A.H. (Cat No. 24, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.71a&b).

[The silver masha coins bear simply "Al-Sultan al-'azam" on the observe and "Jalal al-duniya wa al-din" on the reverse. These coins are very rare.] Only two pieces have been discovered so far. One is in ANS cabinet and the other in the collection of R. Burn⁵ (Cat No. 24, Pl. No. X, Fig. No. 72).

[Jalal uddin's billon coins are of a single type. They have on the observe the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Jalal al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "Firuz Shah" in Arabic at the centre within a square and "Sri Sultan Jalaludin" n Nagari around it (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig.

No.73). This bilingual reverse type in billon was first introduced by Balban and was followed by his successors. But here on the these coins it is slightly modified. The Arabic part is written in a square instead of a circular area. Thakkur Pheru called these coins "*Jalali*". They followed the standard weight of one *tanka* (3.68 gms/56.67 gns) and contained 2023 gms/ 3.116 gns of silver.* Their value was $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dam* or *jital*; 48 of them went for a silver *tankah*.

Some of the Copper coins of Jal uddin are as follows:

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt.	Name and denom.
1.	In circle the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-"azam"	In circle is the legend "Jalal al-duniya wa al-din"	4.285-3.831 gms/ 66-59gns.	<u>Paika</u> ; $\frac{1}{4}$ of a jital
2.	Do	Do	2.259 gms/ 34.8 gns	Adhwa ($2\frac{1}{2}$ viswa) $\frac{1}{8}$ of a jital
3.	In interesting squares "Adl Shah Firuz"	In interesting squares "Bi-hazarat Delhi"	2.272 gms/ 35 gns.	Do
4.	As on Sl. No. 3 but without "Adl".	As on Sl. No. 3	2.1948 gms/ 33.8 gns	Do
5.	As on Sl. No. 3, (parts of)	As on Sl. No. 3 (parts of)	1.461 gms / 22.5 gns	Sawaya Viswa ($1\frac{1}{4}$ viswa); $\frac{1}{16}$ of a jital

2.2 Rukh uddin Ibrahim (AH 695/AD 1296)

Jala uddi's son and successor, Rukh uddin Ibrahim, as on the throne only for a short period of two and half months. No gold coin of this Sultan found so far. His silver, billon and copper coins are known to us.

It has already been stated that this selection was an alternative arrangement and his position was insecure due to rebellion of Ala uddin Muhmmad, the murdered of his father. So with a view to strengthening his

* Converted silver content per coin.

cause he invoked his father's name on his coins. On one side of the silver tankah he wrote his own name and title, and on the other his father's name and religious epithet. These two names including the titles occupied the whole space of both the faces of the coin, so he dropped the name of the Khalifah which had been conventionally written on the coins of his predecessors. The elimination of Khalifah's name from his coin, therefore, was not for his disrespect to the Khalifah but for the shortage of space. That he acknowledged the Khalifah is clearly shown by the religious epithet "*nasir amir al-mu'minin*" on the reverse. This coin may be compared to the coins of Rukh uddin Firuz (1235 A.D.) and Raziya (1236-1240 A.D.) who before him had invoked their father's name Iltutmish, on their coins and dropped the Khalifah's name for shortage of space. However, Ibrahim's silver tankahas have "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar ibrahim Shah al-Sultan bin*" on the obverse and "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Jala al-Duniya wa al-din Firuz Shah nasir amir al-mu'minin*" on the reverse. The marginal legend bearing the mint-name and date is written on the reverse instead of obverse (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.74).

Rukh uddin's billon coins are also of a single type and they slightly differ from those of his predecessors in type. He discarded the bilingual reverse type and wrote only Arabic legends on both the faces. His coins bear on the obverse "*Al-Sultan al-'azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din*" and on the reverse "*Ibrahim Shah bin Firuz Shah*". Thakur Pheru called these coins as "*Rukni*".⁶ According to him their weight, metal content and value were the same as of "Jalali" coins of his father (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig No.75).

The copper coins of this Sultan are *Paika* and *Adhwa*. The former weights 3.83 gms / 59 gns and bear on the obverse "*Al-Sultan al-'azam*" and on the reverse "*Ibrahim Shah bin Firuz Shah*" (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.). The Adhwa weights 2.46 gms / 38 gns and contains the legend

"Adl Ibrahim Sham" on the obverse and "*bin Firuz Shah*" on the reverse (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.77).

2.3 Ala uddin Muhamamd Khalji and his successors (AH 695 715/ AD 1296-1316)

2.3.1 Gold Coins

[About the coinage of Al uddin' Muhmmad Khalji and his successors, Shihab uddin Umar and Mubarak, we have detailed information from Thakkur Pheru, the mint-master of their Delhi mint. He has described them elaborately in his treaties, the *Dravya Pariksha*. According to Thakkur Pheru, the unit gold coins of all these three kings, viz., Ala uddin', Umar and Mubarak were one tola i.e., 11.04 gms / 170 gns and were called *Hema tankah* (gold *tankah*). The first and the third ruler had issued them in two shapes, round and square. The coins in square shape is the innovation of these Khalji rulers.]

[In this period of the reference of the *Khalifah* was eliminated. The gold coins of Ala uddin and Umar both have on their reverse the same legend "Sikandar al-Sani Yamin al-Khilafat nasir amir al-mu'minin", while on the obverse their name and titles. On Ala uddin's coins it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Muhammad Shah al-Sultan" (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.78). On Umar's coins it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Shihab al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar 'Umar Shah al-Sultan al-Sultan. Ala uddin's gold coins are known of all the years of his reign from 695-715 A.H./ 1296-1316 A.D. with the only exception of the year 700 A.H. / 1301 A.D. They were issued from three mints viz., Delhi (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.79), Dar ul-Islam (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.80) and Deogir (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.81). Umar's coins were issued in 715 A.H. / 1316 A.D. only from Delhi mint⁷]

Besides the gold *tankah* of one *tola* weight (i.e., 11.04 gms / 170 gns), according to Thakkur Pheru Ala uddin had also issued another gold coin named "*dinar*." It was 1/3 of the gold *tankah* and weighed 4 *mashas* (or one *tankah*, i.e., 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns.) But no specimen of this coin

has surfaced so far. However, it seems to have been well-known to Abu'l Fazl, as he has referred to the dinars of Ala uddin Khilji while discussing the purity of the metal of various coins under the title "Wormen of the mint".

[While Ala uddin had ignored the Khalifah, his son Mubarak claimed Khilafat for himself.⁸ He assumed the title of "Al-imam al-'azam Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin"⁹ and with this title his name "Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah" is seen on the obverse of his coins. The reverse has "Al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'minin".¹⁰ He gold tankahs of all the years from 716-720 A.H. / 1316-1320 A.D. are well known. They were issued from two mints viz., Hazarat Dar ul-Khalifat Delhi (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No. 82) and Qutababab Fort.]

Besides, the gold *tankahs* of one *tola* weight according to Thakkur Pheru there were coins of three smaller denominations¹¹ weighing 1 *masha* (*igamasiya*), 2 *mashas* (*dumasiya*) and 4 *mashas* (*chaumasiya*). They were respectively 1/12, 1/6 and 1/3 of a *tankah*. The 4 *masha* coins are also known. They bear the legend "Khalifat rabbi al-Alamin Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar" on one side and "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan" on the other (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.83). The coins of other two denominations i.e., *igmasiya* (1 *masha*) and *dumasiya* (2 *mashas*) mentioned by Thakkur Pheru have not yet come to light.

Besides, these coins Thakkur Pheru mentions another gold coin of Mubarak weighing $13\frac{1}{3}$ mashas (12.256 gms / 188. 75 gns), i.e., a little heavier than the *tankah* coin. But no specimen of this coin is known so far.

2.3.2 Silver Coins

[The silver coins (*tankahs*) of Ala uddin', Umar and Mubarak are well known and Thakkur Pheru has called them *Rupaya*. Ala uddin and 'Umar's *rupaya* coins bear the same inscriptions as seen on their gold *tankahs* (Hema tankahs). Like gold Ala uddin issues his silver coins from Delhi, Dar ul-Islam and Deogir mints while Umar issued them only from Delhi. On

Mubarak's coins three types of legends are seen. On his earliest coins issues in 716 A.H., while he did not declare himself Khalifah, he wrote the legend in the pattern of the coins of his father. The legend seen on these coins is "Al-Sutlan al 'azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan bin al-Sultan" on the obverse and "Iskindar al-zaman yamin al-Khalifat nasir amair al-mu'minin" on the reverse (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.84). The marginal legend bearing the mint-name and date is written on the reverse only a system which was introduced first by Rukh uddin Ibrahim. On this type of coins the name of Delhi mint is seen as "Hazaat Dehli" which was introduced long back by Iltutmish and was followed by all his successors till this reign.

[In the early part of 717 A.H. he seems to have declared himself "Khalifah" and the coins issues at that time bear another type of legend. On the obverse of these coins is it. "Al-imam al-'azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Khalifatullah", while on the reverse "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'-minin" in the centre and mint and date in words in the margin around. The Delhi mint has been renamed on these coins as "Hazarat darul mulk" (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.85).] [Soon he issued some other coins where the legend is seen as this second type but the name of Delhi mint is again changed from "Hazarat Darul mulk" to "Hazrat Darul Khalifa" (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.86). This type of coins are also known from Qutbabad (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.87).] In the last part of this year 717 A.H. we have some new coins where a third type of legend is seen. It is "Al-imam al-'azam Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah" on the obverse and "Al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-Wasiq billah amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse. Coins with this legend are known from mints of Hazarat dar ul-Khalifat (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.88) and Dar ul-Islam (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.89). This type of legend is commonly seen on his gold and silver coins and was exclusively used from this time down to end of this reign in 720 A.H. On all these latest coins mint of Delhi is mentioned as "Hazarat dar ul. Khalifat. Ala uddin, 'Umar and

Mubrak issued their silver coins year by year during the period of their reigns.

Thakkur Pheru does not mention any other silver coin of Ala uddin Khalji, Nelson Wright informs the existence of ½ tankah coin weighing 5.29 gms / 81.5 gns, one in the Delhi Museum and another in a private collection of W.S. Talbot. According to him these coins have one and the same legend "Sikandar al-Sani Yamin al-Khilafat nasir amir al-mu'minin" on both the faces. It is not known why Pheru did not notice it. This may be that it was commemorative token issued struck at the time of his assuming this title. As it was not a regular currency, Pheru might have left it.

Another silver coin 9.085 gms / 141 gns in weight and 31.25 mm in size has also been discovered. Its obverse has the border of triple circle, of which middle one is of dots. Within the circle is the Arabic legend inscribed around a small interesting double square at the centre. The Arabic legend reads as "Sikandar al-Sani naris amir al-mu'minin yamin al-Khilfat." In the central intersecting double square is a small winged Nepali type of lion below which is an elephant facing right. The reverse has also the similar border as on the obverse and the Arabic legend around a small circle at the centre. The legend here reads as 'Al-'azam al-Sultan abu'l muzaffar Muhamamd Shah Ala al-duniya a al-din" with a small conch shell (Shankha) in the margin. Within the central small circle is the Nagari legend "Shri Shri with two crescents and stars above each and a floral design below.

The title "Shri Shri" and the two crescents with small dots representing stars, the trifoliate, the Shankha (conch) and the circle of dots, all have similarity with those in the later silver coins of Prithvi Narayan Shah Deva and Shri Gurvan Yudha Viram Shah Deva of Nepal. Observing these characteristics one scholar¹³ has remarked that according to the custom in Nepal the name of the ruling Shri Shri Gaja Simha or Gajendra Narasimha of the period is depicted by the figures of an elephant and a lion' and thereby he attributed the mintage of his coin in Nepal.

According to him any of these two kings might have issued it in the name of Sultan Ala uddin Muhammad Khaljis of Delhi whose name is clearly written in the Arabic legend on the coin. This attribution seems to be correct. As the reason behind the issuance of this coin he says, "Although there is no mention of Ala uddin's conquest of Nepal or its territories in the histories, it is possible that the Sultan may have turned his eyes towards that country and compelled the then ruling Raja to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coins in his name in the Nepal style. But this assumption does not seem to be correct. Because, if any such step was taken by Ala uddin it would have been recorded in the contemporary chronicles, but we have no such statement in them. The most probably reason may be that when the king of Nepal heard of Ala uddin's triumphant expeditions one after another in far off Deccan, he presumed that the Sultan may send his army to that direction too. So he issued a few coins in the name of the Sultan to avert the impending danger. Ala uddin possibly had no active role in their issuance. However, the Raja was successful. Ala uddin never sent his army to that direction.

Umar did not issued smaller denominational coin, but his successor Mubarak had issued coins of 5 smaller (rupaya) denominations as are known from the statement of Thakkur Pheru. They were 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 *mashas* in weight. Of these, only the coins of 2 and 6 *mashas* are known. The 6 *masha* coins bear "Al-Sultan al-'azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din" on one side and 'Abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan bin al-Sultan" on the other (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.90) . The 2 masha coins have simply the name "Mubarak Shah" on one side and "Al-Sultan bin al-Sultan" on the other (Cat No.31, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.91).

Besides these common gold and silver coins Ala uddin and Mubarak had issued some coins of higher denominations. Ala uddin had issued 5, 10, 50 and 100 *tola* coins in gold only. His son Qutb uddin Mubarak issued coins of 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 150 and 200 *tolas* in both the metals, gold and silver, round as well as square. This

is the first occasion when we hear of the coins of higher denomination coins were known earlier in Arabia during the 'Abbasid period. The gold coin of 101 *misqals* (429.25 gms) were struck for J'afar, the Brmakid Wazir of Harun al-Rashid (A.H. 170-93 / A.D. 786-809). In central Asia Taimur had got all his silver and gold, which he had acquired as booty at Damascus in 803 A.H., coined into pieces of 100, 50, and 10 *misqals*.^{15]}

No specimen of higher denominational coins of the Khaljis are known to day, but they had existed at least at the time of Babur in the Delhi treasury. There is a passage in Humayun Namah of Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum, where she has mentioned that the emperor (i.e., Babur) sent for Asas, an aged relative of his own, a large "ashrafi", which weighed three imperial seers, i.e., more than 100 tolas. This coins Babur, undoubtedly, would have found in the Delhi treasury when he occupied the throne after defeating the Lodis and possibly some of them existed even in the time of Akbar which inspired him to issue his own higher denominational coins that Abul Fazl has elaborately described in his 'Abin-i-akbari'.

The reference of these massive metallic pieces has led to a controversy whether these were actually coins or not. Hodivala while discussing the massive pieces of the Mughal period regarded them as merely massive ingots of artistically stamped billon, which were hoarded as stores of values and were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or souvenirs of the imperial favour and munificence, but were not cons of higher denominations.¹⁶ He argued that they are mentioned in the contemporary chronicles only as being presented to ambassadors etc. as special mark of imperial favour and there is not a single statement or allusion showing that these gold and silver pieces of big size passed into *Bazar* during any exchange transaction or in course of commercial dealings. Against this P.L. Gupta has pointed out that what

Hodivala has said is true not only to these massive pieces but also to the common gold mohars (*tankahs*) which are taken to be the coins by all numismatists. He has quoted Tavernier who taken to be the coins by all numismatists.¹⁷ He has quoted Tavernier who has said that the golden rupees were not current among the merchants; they were scarcely ever to be met with, save in the houses of the great nobles.¹⁸ He also quoted Theveot who testifies to the same fact that they pass not commonly in trade and were only coined for the most part, to be made present of.¹⁹ He has further observed that it is no wonder if Prof. Hodivala did not find any direct statement or allusion showing that gold and silver pieces of great size passed from hand to hand in the market. If the gold *muhars* were not in common use in the market and were meant for presentation, the coins of higher denominations, would naturally have been much more scarce. And this should not deprive the massive pieces of their titles as coins, or they may be considered anything else than the metallic substitute or counterparts of the present day currency notes of high denominations. These pieces have been called coins by those who had issued them. Abu'l Fazl described them under the chapter "Coins of the Glorious Empire".²⁰ Thakur Pheru has explicitly referred to them amongst the coins of Ala uddin Khalji as *Hema Tankah* and those of Qutb uddin Mubarak as the varieties of his gold and silver coins. So we have no reasons to disbelieve what they have said about these pieces.²¹

What might be the function of these massive coins one thing is certain that they have one of the economic functions of money as a store of value. Obviously it was more convenient to kept the treasures in the form of a few large coins instead of millions of small ones.

[The gold and silver coins of Ala uddin and Qutb uddin are known to have been issued from two more places other than the capital Delhi. They are Dar ul-Islam and Deogir. The last one was rename by Mubarak as qutbabad after his own laqab "Qutb uddin".]

Delhi is known for the coins having the epithet "Hazarat" from the time of Iltutmish and meant to denote the capital. In the time of Mubarak the epithet "Hazarat" for Delhi was retained only for a short period i.e., 716-717 A.H. In 717 A.H. he discarded this epithet and called Delhi as "Darul Mulk" which was also a temporary one. Towards the end of the same year he again changed the epithet "Darul Mulk" with *Daru-l-Khalifat*²² probably for declaring himself as Khalifath. The capital is identified with Siri, some miles to the north of old Delhi. It was built by Ala uddin Muhamamd Khalji in 703 A. H. / 1303 A.D.²³ Besides the mint of Siri it is believed that there was another mint in Delhi which was called "Darul Islam" and it was situated, according to Nevill, in a Madrasah (college) in old Delhi. The Sultan gave this college the right to strike coins. What was the necessity of having two mints not very far away from each other is not clear. But by the name "Darul Islam" it appears that it was really a college or University. Why the Sultan gave the college or University this kind of rights is not known to us. If it was really done then it was unprecedented. Coins of "Darul Islam" mint are known only for the year 717 A.H.

Besides these two mints at Delhi, coins are also known from Deogir in the South. Ala uddin Khalji had invaded this territory first during his uncle, Jalal uddin's reign. During his own reign he had subdued this area in 707 A.H. but the coins from this mint in his name were issued in the years of value and were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or souvenirs of the imperial favour and munificence, but were not coins of higher denominations.¹⁶ He argued that they are mentioned in the contemporary chronicles only as being presented to ambassadors etc. as a special mark of imperial favour and there is not a single statement or allusion showing that these gold and silver pieces of big size passed into Bazar during any exchange transaction or in course of commercial dealings. Against this P.L. Gupta has pointed out that what Hodivaa had said is true not only to these massive pieces but also to the common gold mohars (tankahs) which are taken to be the coins by all numismatics.¹⁷ He

has quoted Tavernier who has said that the golden rupees were not current among the merchants; they were scarcely ever to be met with, save in the houses of the great nobles.¹⁸ he also quoted Thevenot who testifies to the same fact that they pass not commonly in trade and were only coined for the most part, to be made present of.¹⁹ He has further observed that it is no wonder if Prof. Hodivala did not find any direct statement or allusion showing that gold and silver pieces of great size passed from hand to hand in the market. If the gold muhars were not in common use in the market and were meant for presentation, the coins of higher denominations, would naturally have been much more scarce. And this should not deprive the massive pieces of their titles as coins, or they may be considered anything else than the metallic substitute or counterparts of the present day currency notes of high denominations. These pieces have been called coins by those who had issued them. Abu'l Fazl described them under the chapter "Coins of the Glorious Empire".²⁰ Thakkur Pheru has explicitly referred to them amongst the coins of Ala uddin Khalji as Hema Tankah and those of Qatb uddin Mubarak as the varieties of his gold and silver coins. So we have no reason to disbelieve what they have said about these pieces.²¹

Whatever might be the function of these massive coins one thing is certain that they have one of the economic functions of money as a store of value. Obviously it was more convenient to keep the treasures in the form of a few large coins instead of millions of small ones.

[The gold and silver coins of Ala uddin and Qutb uddin are known to have been issued from two more places than the capital Delhi. They are Dar ul-Islam and Deogir. The last one was renamed by Mubarak as Qutbabad after his own laqab "Qutab uddin".]

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2.3.3 Billon Coins

[Thakkur Pheru has called the Khalji billon coins as damma i.e., drama. This shows that the term *drama*, which was the name of a coin of pre-Muslim days, had begun to denote by this time the coins of alloy of silver and copper of which the actual *drammas* were originally made.²⁴]

[According to the *Dravya Pariksha* the *dammās* or the billon coins of Ala uddin Khalji were not only three denominations viz., *Iggani* (one *gani*), *Dugani* (two *ganis*) and *Chahagani* (six *ganis*). All the three uniformly weighed one *tanka* (3.68 gms / 56.67 gns), but they varied in their silver contents.)

The *Iggani* coins contained 95 *tankas* of copper and 5 *tankas* (i.e., 1 tolas 8 *mashas*) of silver per 100 coins. This means that one *Iggani* coin contained 0.18 gms / 2.8 gns of silver. Sixty of these coins were equal to one silver *tankah* (*rupaya*). In treasury and public transactions everywhere the basis of accounting was this *Iggani*. So far Ala uddin's three types of billon coins have been discovered. Two of them are assayed by a Smith and the results show that they are *Chhagni* and *Dugani* coins. The third type which has not been assayed by him and which H.N. Wright listed as the last of the billon coins due possibly to its least silver content, seems to be the *Iggani* coin. It bears the Arabic legend "Ala al-duniya wa al-din" on the obverse and "Muhammad Shah al-Sultan" with date in Arabic numerals on the reverse.

The *Dugani* (two *gani*) coins were of two varieties.²⁵ In one of the silver content was 9¾ *tankas* (i.e., 3 tolas 3 *mashas*) per 100 specimens and in the other only 8 *tankas* (i.e., 2 tolas 8 *mashas*). But both the varieties were valued at 30 per silver *tankah*. This value is mentioned by Pheru in the table. According to this statement the first variety contained .358 gms / 5.524 gns of silver and the second variety .294 gms / 4.54 gns. According to Smith's assay the coins which bear on the obverse the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din", and on the reverse "Muhammad Shah al-Sultan" in Arabic in the centre within double circle with the marginal legend around in Nagari "Sri Sultan Alwadi" and the date in numerals also in Nagari have two different silver contents, (i) 4.95-4.75 grains and (ii) 4.65-4.30 grains. These may be well be identified with the two varieties of the *Dugani* coins.

According to Thakkur Pheru his Chhagani coins were of two varieties. One contained $25\frac{1}{2}$ tankas and $4\frac{1}{2}$ jivas (or 8 tolas, 6 mashas and $4\frac{1}{2}$ jivas) of silver per 100 coins. That means a coin had 0.99 gms / 15.39 gns of silver. The second variety contained $24\frac{3}{4}$ tankas 2 jivas and 9 viswas (or 8 tolas 3 mashas and 9 viswas) of silver per 100 coins. That means a coin contained 0.91 gms / 14.03 gns of silver.

Among the coins available to-day those bear the legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din" on one side and 'abu'l-muzaffar Muhammad Shah" with the dates in Arabic numerals on the other have been assayed by Smith. The results shows that they have two different contents of silver viz. (i) .948 gms / 14.60 gns and (ii) .0925-.850 gms / 13.90-13.10 gns. These silver contents confirms Thakkur Pheru; so they may well be identified as two varieties of *Chhagani* coins.

Of Shihab uddin 'Umar Thakuar Pheru mentions *Chhagani* coins only. It has the same silver content as that in Ala uddin's *Chhagani*. The only known type of this king must be the *Chhagani*. They bear on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Shihab al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "abu'l muzaffar 'Umar Shah al-Sultan with the date 714 or 715 A.H. in Arabic numerals (Cat No.31, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.92).

Qutb uddin Mubarak had issued billon coins of seven denominations. Three of them were round and the other four, square. The round coins were *Dugani* (2 gains), *Chaugani* (4 ganis), *Barahagani* (12 ganis), *Chaubisagani* (24 ganis) and *Adatalisagani* (48 ganis).The *Dugani*, *Chaugani*, *Chhagani* and *Athagani* coins all were of one and the same standard weight i.e., one *tanka* (3.68 gns/ 56.67 gns), but they differ only in their silver contents.

The *Dugani* and *Chhagani* coins of Mubarak had similar silver contents as in their counterparts of Ala uddin's *Dugani* and *Chhagani*. But no *Dugani*, coin of Mubarak is known so far. As the *Chhagani* coins its

assay is not available but the coin which Nelson Wright relying on his assumption of 48 *gani* per *tankah* has identified as 4 *gani* coins might be *Chhagani*. If it is so then the coins having "Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu 'l-muzaffar" with the dates in Arabic numerals on the obverse and "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse, would be the *Chhagani* coins (Cat No.31, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.93).

The *Chaugani*, *Athagani*, *Barahagani*, *Chaubisagani* and *Adatalisagani* coins unprecedented. They were Mubarak's own innovations.

The *Chaugani* coins contained $16\frac{1}{4}$ *tankas* and 9 *javas* of silver per 100 coins. That is .603 gms / 9.28 gns of silver in each coin. The assay given by Smith of variety having the legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Qutb al-Duniya wa al-din" on the obverse and "abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan" with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse, shows its silver content approximately the same is given by Thakkur Pheru. Moreover, .N. Wright has mentioned three more varieties as $1/16^{\text{th}}$ of a *tankah*. These four varieties may be identified as the *Chaugani* coins.

The *Athagani* coins contained 33 *tanka* 9 *javas* and 4 *viswas* of silver per 100 coins i.e., 1.219 gms. / 19.7814 gns in each coin.

The coins having approximately the same silver content (i.e., 1.26-1.09 gms / 19.50-16.80 gns) according to Smith's assay may be identified as *Athanagi*. They have on the observe "Qutb al-duniya wa al-din" at the centre within a square and "abu'l muzaffar khalifat ullah" on four corners. The reverse bears "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan" with date in numerals (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.94).

The higher denominational billon coins had their own exclusive weights. The *Barahagani* coins weighed $1\frac{1}{2}$ *tanka* (5.513 gms / 84.9 gns),

Chaubisagani 3 *tanka* (11. gms / 170 gns) and *Adatalisagani* 6 *tanka* (22 gms / 3.40 gns).

The *Barahagani* coin had *masha* $15\frac{3}{4}$ *javas* (i.e., 1.838 gms / 28.32 gns) of silver. The coins bearing "Al-imam al-'Azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar' with dates in Arabic numerals on the obverse and "Khalifat ullah Mubarak Shah" in the centre within a circle with marginal legend "Al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse have the weight 5.357 gms / 82.5 gns and silver content 1.94-1.896 gms / 29.87-29.20 gns. They are obviously the *Barahagani* coins.

The *Chaubisagani* coins contained $3\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* and $15\frac{1}{2}$ *javas* (3.65 gms / 56.19 gns) of silver. Similarly the *Adatalisagani* had 7 *mashas* 15 *javas* (7.3 gms / 112.38 gns) of silver. But no coins of these two denominations are reported so far.

Besides, the above coins there is one more square type in billon which bears the Arabic legend "Al-imam al-'azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din" on the obverse and "Khalifatullah Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan" with date in Arabic numerals on the reverse. This type of coins weigh in the neighbourhood of one *tanka* (i.e., 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns) and according to assay report by S.W. Smith, they have such silver contents which are almost similar to that of *Chaugani* (*dams*). But the *Chaugani* coins are said by Thakkur Pheru to have been of identify then as *Chaugani*. But it is noticed that they were issued in 719 and 720 A.H. corresponding to 1319 and 1320 A.D. While Pheru's *Dravya Pariksha* which was compiled in V.S. Agarwala 1375 corresponding to 1318 A.D. which was earlier than the issuance of these coins. It, therefore, appears that in later period of Mubarak's reign a few *Chaugani*, coins were also struck in square shape (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.95).

2.3.4 Copper Coins

[Coming to the copper coins we do not find any mention of these coins of Ala uddin Khalji in the *Dravya Pariksha*. But Nelson Wright has

described a few coins as copper and three coins of the type of billon issues were found to be of pure copper without any traces of silver. These suggest that Ala uddin Khalji did issue coins in copper and at least one type of these coins was issued from Delhi mint* of which he was himself the mint master. As such the silence of Thakkur Pheru is inexplicable. The known copper coins of this king are *paika*, *adhawa* and *salwaya-viswa*.⁷

Mubarak's copper coins are of four denominations as stated by Thakkur Pheru. They were *Biswa*, *sawaya-viswa* ($1\frac{1}{4}$ viswa), *Adhawa* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ viswas) and *Paka* (5 Viswa). They weighed 1 *masha* (0.91 gms / 14.16 gns), $1\frac{1}{4}$ *mashas* (1.14 gms / 17.7 gns), $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* (2.298 gms / 35.4 gns) and 5 *mashas* (4.60 gms / 70.8 gns). They all were square in shape of these only three denomination viz., *Paika*, *Adhawa* and *Viswa* are known. They have the legends and weights as follows:

Sl. No.	Obverse	Reverse	Weight	Name and deno. Value
1.	In square "Al-imam al-'azam"	In square "Qutb al-duniya wa al-din"	4.61 gms/71 gns.	Paika, $\frac{1}{4}$ of Iggani (<u>dam</u>)
2.	In square "Adl Mubarak"	In square "bi-hazarat Dar ul-Khilafat."	2.13 gms / 32.8 gns	Adhawa ($2\frac{1}{2}$ viswa) $\frac{1}{8}$ of iggani (<u>dam</u>)
3.	In square "Mubarak Shah"	In square "Al-Sultan	.78 gms / 12 gns	Viswa $\frac{1}{20}$ of Iggani (<u>dam</u>)

3. Shams uddin Mahmud (718 A.H./ 1318 A.D.)

Shams uddin Mahmud who had tried to usurp the Delhi throne during the time of Qutb uddin Mubarak Khalji in 718 A.H. / 1318 A.D. as told earlier, is known from two types of billon coins. Of them one is *Dugani* and the other *Chhagani*. Both the coins follow the pattern of Ala uddin's coins of similar denominations.

* As the mint-name "bi-hazarat Delhi is clearly written on it

The Dugani coins known from a single specimen in the British Museum which weighs 3.20 gms / 49.2 gns and bears on the obverse "al-Sultan al-'azam shams al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "Mahmud Shah" in circle with the Nagari legend around "Sultan Samas(di)" (partly visible).

The Chhagani coin weighs 3.616gms / 55.7 gns and bears on the obverse the same legend as the *Dugani*, but the reverse has "abu'l muzaffar Mahmud Shah (al-Sultan) and the date in Arabic numerals²⁷ (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.96).

No assay of these coins is available. The attribution to their denominations, however, is suggested only on the basis of their similarity with the two coins of Ala uddin Khalji in their type and fabric.

Nasir uddin Khusru (720 A.H./ 1320 A.D.)

The last ruler Khusru's coins are known of all the four metals-gold, silver, billon and copper.²⁸

The gold and silver coins are the tankahs of the weight of 11.04 gms / 170 gns and have the identical legend. On the obverse it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar" and on the reverse "Khusru Shah al-Sultan al Wasiz bi-nasr al-Rahman walliu amir al-mu'minin" with the mint name. The gold coin so far discovered was minted at Hazrat Delhi (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.97) and the silver coin at Deogir (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.98). This shows that that he discarded the names of "Darul Khalifat" and "Mubarakbad" given by his predecessor, Qutb uddin Mubarak, to these two places, and reintroduced their original names.

No assay of the billon coins of Khusru is available. So nothing can be said about their silver contents. But only on the basis of their weight and style their the coins may be identified as *Barahagani*, *Chhagani* and *Dugani*.

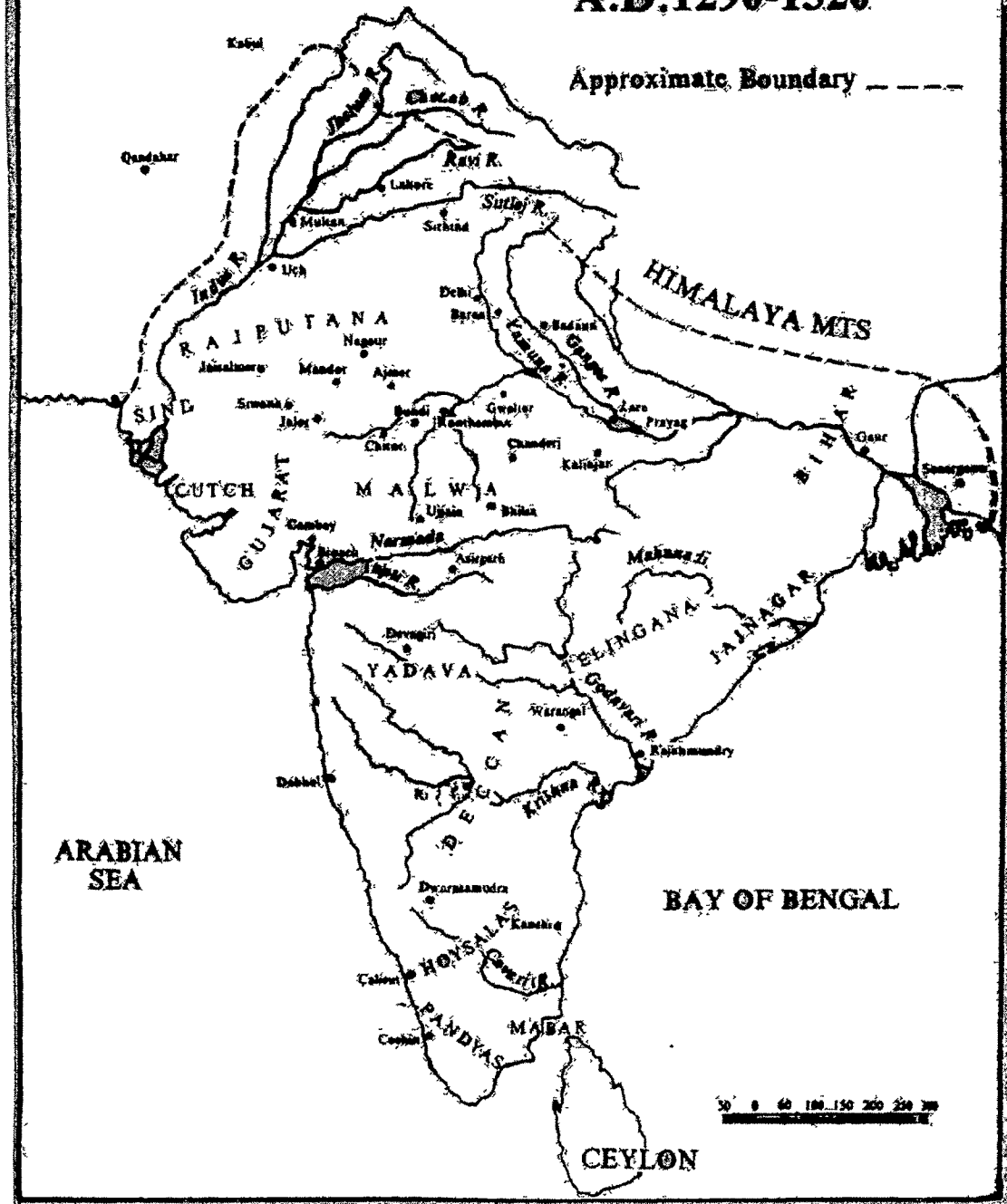
The *Barahagani* coin weighs 4.45 gms / 94 gns the same as that of Mubarak Khalji. It bears on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar" and on the reverse "Khusru Shah al-Sultan waliu amir al-mu 'minin" with the date in Arabic numerals (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.99).

The identification of *Dugani* coins rests on the similarity of its type and fabric with the coins of Ala uddin *Dugani*. It weighs 3.616-3.422 gms / 55.7-52.7 gns and bears on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "Khusru Shah". In the centre within single circle and around it the marginal legend "Al-Sultan waliu amir al—mu'minin". This reverse marginal legend on Ala uddin's coins was in Nagari but here it is changed into Arabic (Cat No.34, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.100).

The third type which has the same weight as the *Dugani* coin and bear 'Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din" on the obverse and "abu'l muzaffar Khusru Shah al-Sultan" with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse, is assumed here in absence on any positive data as *Chhagani* coin he merely on the assumption that the denomination of this coin would be in between *Barahagani* and *Dugani*. Since *Chhagani* was the coin in between these two denominations it may be that coin (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.101).

The copper coins of Khursu shah are of two denominations. One is Paika of 4.54 gms / 170 gns weight (Cat No.34, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.102). The other weigh 1.62 gms / 25 gns (Cat No.35, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.103) which is less than the *Adhawa* coin but more than the *Sawaya-viswa*. So it may be coin of 2 *viswas*. But no of 2 *viswas* is known to have been issued by Ala uddin and Mubarak before him. If the assumption is correct then it would have been a new denomination introduced by this ruler who had a very short reign.

DELHI SULTANATE A.D. 1290-1320



CHAPTER – IV

COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE KHALJIS

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CHAPTER – V

COINAGE AND METEOROLOGY OF THE TUGHLAQS

1. GHIYASUDDIN TUGHLAQ (AH 720-725/AD 1320-1325)

[After the death of Qutubuddin Mubarak, Nasiruddin Mahmud ascended the throne of Dehli only for a few months. Then in AD 1320, Ghazi Malik founded the Tughlaq dynasty. Ghazi Malik adopted the style of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.* Though he was not young in years he was gifted with boundless enthusiasm, an unerring judgement, firm determination and desire to be methodological in all matters of administration.]

According to the practice of time, he reconstituted the administrative machinery, including in it his friends, relatives and supporters. After setting the administration to the order finally, he appointed his son, Ulugh Khan** to restore the imperial position in Warangal and send his other nobles to deal with the rebellion in Gujarat. He himself marched to Bengal and Tirhut. In AD 1325 when he was returning from there, after a successful campaign, a temporary wooden pavilion was erected at Afghanpur, a small village at the distance of three or four *karohs* from the new town Tughlaqbad. This new town was founded by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq on the eve of his eastern expedition as reported by Isami in his book *Futuh-us-salatin*. The wooden pavilion on which Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was seated, fell all of sudden and the king died at the spot.¹

* According to Sir Wolseley that Tughluq was the personal name of the Sultan and not a tribal cognomen. Even this was confirmed by contemporary historian Afif in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (p.27), as he says that Sultan Tughluq was the name of the first ruler of dynasty and second one is Sultan Muhammad. 6

** Ulugh khan was the eldest son of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, his real name was Malik Fakhruddin, the title Ulugh khan was given by his father. When he became the king he assumed the style of Mohammed Bin Tughluq.

1.1 Coinage

[The gold copper, billon and silver *tankas* of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq issued from his capital *dar-al-islam Delhi* followed the coin types of Khaljis. After the conquest of Tilangana, *tankas* in both metals i.e. gold and silver with the mint-name *mulk-i-Tilang* was issued by him. These coins are unusually well, struck carefully and met with in good condition. Ghiyasuddin issued gold (Cat No.35&36, Pl. No. XIV, Fig. No.104ABC)) and silver (Cat No.365&37, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.105ABC) coins with the legend as *sultan al ghazi ghiyasuddiniya waldin abul muzaffar* on one side and *tughlaq shah al-sultan nasir amir-ul-mominin* with the date and mint on the other. A very rare type of coins made of silver was jointly issued by local ruler of Bengal, Nasir al-din Ibrahim with the name of Ghiyasuddin Tuglaq.² Legends of this coins is in Arabic and is as follows, *al-sultan al muazzam nasir al-duniya wal din abu'l muzaffar ibrahim shah al-sultan bin-sultan* on its reverse and *al-sultan al-azam ghiyath al-dunya wa'l din abu'l muzaffar tughlaq shah al sultan* on obverse. Mint name is not over there, probably they were struck in Lakhnauti. Unfortunately we have not come across to any date over it. On these coins the lesser titles *al-sultan al mu'azzam* has been used for Nasir-al-Din Ibrahim. It gives us idea he was ruling under the suzerainty of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in Bengal.

We find the term *al-ghazi* frequently on his coins. But some of the coins made of gold bearing the legend *al-mutawakkil alallah abul muzaffar tughlaq shah* on one side while *ghiyasuddiniya waldin nasir amir-ul-momenin* on the other side were also issued by him. Interestingly enough he also issued bilingual coins with Arabic and Devanagari legend. On obverse the legend is *al-sultan al-ghazi ghiyath al dunya wa'l din* and in a single circle *tughlaq shah* and around it *sri sultan ghiyasuddin* on reverse side dated in Hijri era 720 (AD 1326).³

[Like his predecessors, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq also issued coins with short Arabic legends such as *Tughlaq* on obverse and *Shah* on reverse⁴ (Cat No. 37, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.106) *adl ghiyathi* and *bi-fakhrabad* on

obverse and reverse respectably.⁵ (Cat No. 37, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.107).]

[The weights of the coins of this first Tughlaq king remained unchanged. The gold and silver *tanka* being issued were of about 11 gm. while, the copper coins weighed 3.5 to 4 gm. The coins were issued by him from the mints of *dar-al-islam*, *Delhi*, Deogir fort, *mulk-i-tilang* (Warrangal in Telangana). Following are the metals and metrology of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's coins.]

GOLD	<i>Tanka</i>	10.09-11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
SILVER	<i>Tanka</i>	10.08-11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
COPPER	Two <i>gani</i>	3.5 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	Four <i>gani</i>	3.5 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	Six <i>gani</i>	3.5 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
BILLON	<i>paika</i>	4 gm	40 <i>rati</i>
	<i>paika</i>	3.2-3.5 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Adhi</i> (half <i>Paika</i>)	2-2.3 gm	20 <i>rati</i>

2. MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ (AH 725-752/AD 1325-1351)

[Ulugh Khan ascended the throne in AH 725/AD 1325, under the name of Muhammad, and was usually referred to as Muhammad bin Tughluq.] His tenure as Sultan proved to be the most remarkable of all Delhi Sultans but the precise sequence of events is difficult to ascertain.

[According to Habib and Nizami that "perhaps no other Sultan of medieval India has excited so much curiosity about himself and provoked so much criticism of his policies as Muhammad bin Tughlaq."⁶] Muhammad was a man of great contrasts. He was an energetic and innovative administrator, a fine military leader, had a keen sense of justice and morality, and was very generous. He was also learned in a variety of subjects and literature. His tenure of twenty-six years as Sultan of Dehli is a fascinating but tragic story of schemes and projects which were correctly conceived, badly executed and disastrously abandoned. He could never establish that rapport and the mutual understanding with his subjects, which are so necessary for the successful implementation of his schemes. He doubted

the intentions of the people. The other side people suspected his motive. He introduced new economic and administrative measures to lessen the tax burden, to develop agriculture, improve the administration of justice and other things. As I have already mentioned that intentions were good but poor implementation as experienced officials were replaced by inexperienced and highly unreliable ones. This caused much unrest. Serious revolt broke out in Daulatabad and Gujarat. He was more successful in Gujarat. But uprising of Daulatabad, led to the formation in due course of the Bahmanid states. Because of all his failure steps, a wide gap appeared between the king Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and his subjects and it went on widening with the passage of time and finally he became ill and died. His three main experiments which failed are as follows for which he is known by some modern historians as a mad king.

- (i) Capital Transfer from Dehli to Deogiri.
- (ii) The Khurasan and Karachil expeditions.
- (iii) The introduction of token currency.

2.1 Coinage

[Except the introduction of token currency honestly we have little to do with his first two steps which he had taken. The main ambition of Muhammad bin Tughlaq behind the introduction of token currency was to reform the coinage system, which has been little understood and much condemned. This experiment was launched by him after exodus to Deogiri in 1329-30. A silver coin, in those days was known as *tanka*, a copper coin was known as *jital*. Muhammad bin Tughlaq issued bronze coins, in place of silver and demanded its acceptance as a token coin equivalent to the silver *tanka*.⁷]

[The experiment in token currency was not new in Asia. Under Qublai Khan (1260-94) of China and Kaikhatu Khan of Iran (1293) similar attempts at introducing a token currency had been made. The token currency made of paper introduced by Qublai Khan was known as *chan* which had lasted throughout his reign till his death in 1294. It had been accepted by everybody even by foreign traders. This fact was widely known and it is

mentioned to by Ziauddin Barani to explain the background of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's action.

The token coin of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was distinguished from the ordinary currency in the following respect.

- (a) According to Barani these coins were made of copper but Ferishta has suggested that it was of brass or bronze. Ferishta is more accurate in his observation.⁸
- (b) Most of the medieval coins are of the baser metals so it is difficult to decipher, but here in token currency special care had been taken to make the legend more clear and legible.
- (c) The coins which bear the legend in Persian are as follow, *muhr shud tanka raj dar ruzgar-i-banda-i-ummidwar muhammad tughlaq* (minted *tanka*, current during the days of Muhammad (bin) *Tughlaq*, who hopes for divine favour).⁹ The word 'current' in the legend of this coins make it clear that coin owed its value to the credit of the Sultan and not to the value of its metal.
- (d) But the token coins the Arabic legends also they are following as english translation "He who obey the Sultan obeys the God". This was on appeal to the religious sentiments of the people to honour the token currency.

Now the question is why did the Sultan introduced this token currency? According to the contemporary historian, Barani¹⁰ that the Sultan's project to conquer foreign lands and his boundless generosity and munificence had depleted the treasury, and it was device to face the crisis of bankruptcy. But before going into details about his token currency one will have to keep in mind the shortage of silver not only in India but all over the world in the period under research. This thing is greatly dealt by Deyell in his book '*Living without silver*'. The second reason about its introduction is very much related with the first one that he was the ruler who ruled the

largest territory by any Muslim ruler in India, so he needed a metal for his coins which would be available in abundance*.

[This experiment of the introduction of token currency failed because the Sultan was unable to prevent forging of the new coins. Barani¹¹ in his picturesque language says that the "house of every Hindu became a mint" Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of the Chinese paper notes there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the bronze token and no limit on the power of production by the masses at large. Because of this forging of the coins trade and commerce began to be disrupted. Hence in anger, Muhammad bin Tughlaq cancelled his orders and redeemed the token coins by the coins of gold and silver. This would have been done only for the coins issued the royal mints. The failure of the token currency must certainly have affected the treasury adversely. But it was not too serious a blow nor did it upset public life. It was given up by AD 1333, three years after its introduction. Thus, no issues of the token coins are available after AH 732 or AD 1332-33. The token coins are not mentioned by Ibn Battuta who come to Dehli in 1334. This shows that entire episode was forgotten speedily.]

To understand the coins issued by Muhammad bin Tughlaq, this can be divided into four categories.

1. Coins struck in the memory of his father and his name too.
2. Coins struck in his own name. (normal issue)
3. Coins struck in the name of the Abbasid Caliphs.
4. Token or forge currency.

1. This group of coins were issued in gold (Cat No. 38&39, Pl.No.XV, Fig. No.108ABCD), silver (Cat No.39&40, Pl.No.XV, Fig. No.109AB) and billon (Cat No. 40, Pl.No.XV, Fig. No.110). Along with the name of Ghiyasudin Tughlaq Shah, these coins bear the legend *shaheed* (Martyr)¹² and the legend end with the words *anara*

* Probably Mohammed Bin Tughluq never thought about forging of the coins made of bronze before the introduction of token currency

allah buhan hu (may Allah illumine his proof). It is said because of the contemporary evidence that Muhammad Bin Tughlaq conspired to kill his father, who died during a stage collapse. In fact the stage was constructed under guidance of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and was deliberately made weak. This act of Muhammad bin Tughlaq might have annoyed the people. Therefore in order to give a good impression about his character he issued coins in the name of his father and called him 'shaheed'.]

GOLD	Four <i>pagodas</i>	16 gm	140 <i>rati</i>
	<i>tanka</i>	11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
SILVER	<i>tanka</i>	10.08-11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
BILLON	Six <i>gani</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>

- [In this group the coins were struck in gold, silver, billon and copper. These consisted of various varieties. In these coins, he reintroduced *Kalima*, which were not noticed after *Ilutimish*. Besides the first *Kalima*, that is *Kalima-i-Taiyyaba* (Cat No. 41, Pl.No.XV, Fig. No.111) (There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah), which were first reported on the coins of Mahmud of Ghazna¹³, the *Kalima-i-Shahadat*¹⁴ (Cat No. 40, Pl.No.XVI, Fig. No.112) (*Ashhaddo ana la illaha illallah wa ashhaddo anna Muhammadan rasul Allah*) also appeared on his coins. Besides this *kalima* and his name several religious titles adopted by him such as *fi-sabil Allah*, *raji rahmatullah* etc are also reported on his coins. Interestingly enough for the first time he issued the coins bearing the names of four great caliphs, i.e., *Hazrat Abu Bakr*, *Hazrat Umar*, *Hazrat Usman* and *Hazrat Ali*.]

Metrology of this type of coins are listed below:

GOLD		
<i>Dinar</i>	12.8 gm	112 <i>rati</i>
<i>Tanka</i>	10.8-11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
<i>Adli</i>	9-9.1 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
<i>Half Dinar</i>	6.4 gm	56 <i>rati</i>
<i>Half Tanka</i>	5.5 gm	48 <i>rati</i>

SILVER			
	<i>Tanka</i>	10.8-11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Adli</i>	9-9.1 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
BILLON			
	<i>Tanka</i>	9 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Dirham</i>	3.9 gm	
	<i>Eight gani</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Six gani</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Two gani</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
COPPER			
	<i>Paika</i>	4.2 gm	40 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Paika</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>

3. Coins bearing the name of the Abbasid Caliph were issued by all the Mameluk Sultans and Jalaluddin Firuz of Khalzi dynasty. But after Jalaluddin Firuz (the uncle and father-in-law of Alauddin Khalzi), no coins of the Dehli Sultanate are noticed with the name of Abbasid caliph till Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. He struck coins in the names of the Abbasid Caliphs al-Mustakfi and al-Hakim-II. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was very much concerned to get his sovereignty legitimised by the reigning Caliph but it took sometime before he established who and where that person was, the later Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt being if a rather obscure nature. He immediately set about striking coins in the name of Al-Mustakfi (Cat No. 41, Pl.No.XVI, Fig. No.113) and continued doing so until AH 744/ AD 1343 in Dehli and the following years in Daulatabad. Unbeknown to him, Al-mustakfi had actually died in AH 740 (AD 1339). Later after a year or two he was succeeded by Al Hakim II. In AD 1343 an envoy from Al-Hakim-II arrived here in Dehli with a patent conferring on him the title of *nasir amir al-muminin*. These coins were issued predominantly in gold¹⁵ and billon¹⁶ with few silver¹⁷ and copper¹⁸ coins too. As we can see for the purpose of its minting, only Dehli and Daulatabad had been used. Dates on the coins of these category appear both in words and numerals.]

The full titles of the two Caliphs are as follows. *Al mustakfi billah abul rabi sulaiman ibn al Hakim bi amr allah* for caliph al-mustakfi and *al-hakim bi-amr allah abul abbas ahmad bin al-mustakfi billah* for caliph al-hakim.

4. [As we have already discussed that Muhammad bin Tughlaq was probably the first ruler of India to have introduced token currency. They were made of bronze and known as *tanka* weighing about 9 gm. Muhammad bin Tughlaq asked his people to accept these at the value of silver *tanka* which was in circulation at that time. It is sometimes said that this experiment was much ahead of his time. People were not familiar with the token currency and found it hard to accept a low value bronze coin at a higher value. The legend of his token currency gives us an idea that Muhammad Bin Tughlaq even made an appeal to the masses to accept it. These coins bear the legend *muhr shud tanka rajdar ruzgar-i-banda-i-umidwar muhammad tughlaq* (minted *tanka* currency during the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who hopes for divine favour). The other side has a legend *man ata arrahman faqud ata ar rahman* (Cat No. 42,43 Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.114ABCDE) (He who obeys the sultan obeys the God, obeys and the Prophet.)]

2. Metrology of these coins are as follows:

<i>Tanka</i>	9.2 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
<i>Half Tanka</i>	7.2 gm	64 <i>rati</i>
<i>Quarter tanka</i>	4.3 gm	40 <i>rati</i>
<i>Eight gani</i>	3.7 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
<i>Two gani</i>	1.6-1.8 gm	16 <i>rati</i>
<i>Legal Dirham</i>	5.2 gm	45 <i>rati</i>

3. MAHMUD BIN MUHAMMAD TAGHLUQ (AD 1351)

After the death of Mohammed bin Tughlaq in AD 1351 his cousin Firuz Tughlaq, who was in Sind on an expedition, was accepted as the next ruler by the royal army. Meanwhile when news of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's death reached to Dehli, a powerful noble Khwaja Jahan who was incharge of Dehli, unaware of this, placed Mahmud the son of Mohammed bin Tughlaq on throne. But when Firuz Shah returned to Dehli, Mahmud was set aside. During his brief period, Mahmud issued coins of gold, silver and

billon. The gold *tankas* turned up surprisingly to be of ten but the other coins are extremely rare. His name on the coins appeared as Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Tughlaq. His gold (Cat No. 43, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.115) and silver (Cat No. 44, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.116) coins bear the legend *yamin amir-ul-momenin ghiyath al-dunya wa'l din abu'l mazaffar* on one side and *mahmud shah bin muhammad shah bin tughlaq shah al-sultan* on the other side.¹⁹

4. FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLAQ (AH 752/AD 1351-1388)

When from Sind, Firuz reached near Dehli he was greeted by crowds of people from the city, *ulema*, *mashaikh*, *sufis*, *qalanders*, *darweshes*, traders, merchants and Brahmin.²⁰ All paid their homage to him. Finally the royal cavalcades proceeded and finally entered the city of Dehli on Thursday 25th August 1351. Then and there *Abn'l Muzaffar Firuz Shah*²¹ as Sultan ascended the throne in true regal pomp and glory and celebrated his coronation. This was a bloodless coronation as reported by Ziauddin Barani.²² During the first decade of his reign he made two attempts at invading Bengal but was not only unable to defeat the independent rulers there but implicitly recognised their status. In AD 1356 a robe of honour arrived for him from the Caliph Al-Hakim. In AD 1359 during his second journey to Bengal, he founded the city of Jaunpur*. The following year, Firuz decided to invade Orissa, an area not yet invaded by any muslim ruler. His invasion was successful, he destroyed the renowned temple of Jaganatha in Puri and he obtained the submission of the local king, but the return journey was poorly planned and the army suffered many privations. In AD 1361, Firuz invaded Nagarkot in north, whose ruler submitted, and then undertook a disastrous expedition into Sind. Later he undertook another campaign of Sind and this time he was successful.

[Firuz was a religious man and cared about the well being of his subjects. He abolished the dreadful punishments inflicted under the previous rulers, he had an enlightened attitude towards slaves, who later

* In the memory of late sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, he was also known as Jauna.

became active in many walks of life. He also abolished various unjust taxes. He founded a number of important towns which, including a new capital for himself in the Dehli area, called Firuzabad and other town which came to be known as Jaunpur. He undertook significant public welfare works, including five canals for irrigation, the longest of which ran for 150 miles, and the sinking of many welfare wells. He was also responsible for the construction of dams, mosques, colleges, palaces, caravanserais, reservoirs, hospitals, public baths, bridges, garden etc. The various irrigation schemes led to an increase in agricultural production. The legal system was simplified. He was also an avid scholar. He was not, however, a good military leader, not a particularly dynamic administrator and, as time went on, his government became lax and this laxness was to have serious consequences for the Sultanate in the future.

4.1 Coinage

[Firuz Shah struck several varieties of coins made of gold, silver, copper and billon. Though the silver coins (*tanka*) are rare. But the bulk of Firuz's coinage was in billon and copper. Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*²³ wrote that Firuz issued coins called *chihl-o hashtgani*, *bist-o panjgani*, *bist-o chahargani*, *dwazdahgani*, *dahgani*, *hastgani*, *Shahgani*, and the *jital*. But they are difficult to identify in the finding of the coins.]

[The coins made of gold and silver were generally issued with the name of Abbasid Caliph Abul Abbas Al-Hakim II, Abul Fatah Al Mustasid and Al-Mutawakkil I along with Firuz's name and title such as *saif amir-ul-momenin* (swords of Caliph) etc. Coins without the name of Caliph is also issued by him. These coins carry the name and title of the Sultan, Firuz is called *naib amir-ul-momenin* (Deputy of the Commander of faithful) on these coins. Surprisingly no gold coins of Firuz Tughlaq is available to us before AH 759 (AD 1358-1359) i.e. after he had reigned seven years.²⁴ The reason is not clear.]

[The billon coins are more or less same as the gold ones in legend] i.e., *firuz shah sultani darabat bi-hadrat Dehli* on obverse and *al khalifat amir al muminin khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse side (Cat No. 44,

Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.117).Billon coins were issued in two denominations of about 9gm (Cat No. 44, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.118) and 3.5 gm (Cat No. 45, Pl.No.XIV, Fig. No.119). [Like the first two Tughlaq Sultans the copper coins of Firuz too are having short legends such as *firuz shah sultani* on obverse and *dar al mulk Dehli* (Cat No.45&46, Pl.No.XVII&XVIII, Fig.No.120ABCD) on reverse.] The most common denomination in copper is of about 4.2 to 4.4 gm. Though the coins are of at least three other denominations weighing about 9 gm, 2 gm and 1 gm were also issued by him. [Firuz billon and copper coins were so popular that they continued to be struck long after his death with posthumous dates. Dehli was the principal mint of Firuz Tughlaq however another mint name *sahat-i-sind* is also seen on some of his coins.]

Following are the metrology of the coins of Firuz Shah:

GOLD			
	<i>Tanka</i>	11 gm	96 <i>rati</i> .
SILVER			
	<i>Tanka</i>	11 gm	96 <i>rati</i>
BILLON			
	<i>Tanka</i>	9 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
		5.3 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
		3.6 gm	38 <i>rati</i>
		2.7 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Jital</i>	1.1 gm	10 <i>rati</i>
COPPER			
	<i>Double Jital (2 falus)</i>	9.1 gm	80 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Jital (Falus)</i>	4.5 gm	40 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Jital (falus)</i>	3.6 gm	32 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Half Jital (1/2 falus)</i>	2.2 gm	20 <i>rati</i>
	<i>Quarter Jital (1/4 falus)</i>	1.1 gm	10 <i>rati</i>

5. FATH KHAN (AH 760 /AD 1359-1360)

As we know from the coins that in AH 760 (AD 1359-1360)-Firuz Shah invested his son Fath khan with the royal insignia, so he got an opportunity to issue coins in his name during his prince hood. It has been observed by Nevill that 'it seems clear that Firuz Shah did so by virtue of his appointment of that prince to the viceroyalty of the eastern portion of his dominions'.²⁵

This eastern region was known as *Iqlim al-Sharq*, which later became the independent Sultanate of Jaunpur.

Fath khan's coins are known in gold and billon, though a few copper coins are reported as well. His gold coins bear his name along with of that of his father Firuz Tughlaq on one side and the name of Abbasid Caliph and the mint name on the other, such as *fathkhan firuz shah jall allha zillalahu Jalalahu on obverse, and fizaman al imam amir al-muminin abil fath almustasid billah khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse side dated AH 761.²⁶ (Cat No.46, Pl.No.XVIII, Fig.No.121) The billon coins too have his own as well as his father name. These are found in two weight standards. viz 80 and 32 *rati* (Cat No.47, Pl.No.XVIII, Fig.No.122). The former correspond closely in intrinsic value to the 80 *rati* billon *tankahs* of firuz. All his billons bear indications of provincial mintage.

The gold coins of Fath khan was issued from two mints as it appeared on coins, first, *iqlimul sharaq* (probably located in Jaunpur, where he was serving this region as viceroy) and second is *shahr-i-patna* (the modern capital of Bihar).

6. MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ (AH 789-790/ AD 1387-1388)

As we know because of the increasing infirmity after the death of Fatah Khan. Firuz Shah Tughlaq made his son, Muhammad as his regent in AH 789/AD 1387 and associated him in the administration and ruled jointly with him from AD 1387. Firuz allowed him to issue the coins bearing both names. Muhammad, however, did not take his duties seriously, dismissed the officers who tried to rouse him from his lethargy, replacing them with sycophants, because of his style of ruling finally the nobles of the court rose against him. But in AD 1388 Firuz died so, the succession went to Tughlaq Shah II, the son of his eldest son Fath Khan and Muhammad Bin Firuz retired to Nagarkot.

Muhammad Bin Firuz during his regency issued coins of billon and copper in joint names. During his early period he continued the *tanka* at 80 *rati*, but later on he introduced the billon *tanka* of 96 (Cat No.47,

Pl.No.XVIII, Fig.No.123) *ratī* and retained the 80 *ratī* coins as a lower denomination.

The main obverse legend on his billon coins is *sultani firuz shah muhammad shah* and *al-khalifa abu abd allah khulidat khilafatuhu*.²⁷ (Cat No.47, Pl.No.XVIII, Fig.No.124) The copper coins generally bear the short legend such as *firuz shah* or *firuz shah sultani* on obverse and *Muhammad shah* or *muhammad shah sultani* on reverse side.²⁸ (Cat No.48, Pl.No.XVIII, Fig.No.125).

7. TUGHLAQ SHAH (AH 790-791/AD 1388-1389)

When Muhammad bin Firuz retired to Nagarkot because of the opposition of nobels, the succession went to Tughlaq shah, the son of Fath Khan. Fath Khan was the eldest son of Firuz who died in AD 1374. But the *naib wazir*, Ruknuddin Jundah, who was the head of the slaves of Firuz, revolted against Tughlaq Shah. On 24th February, AD 1389, they first killed a high officer in broad day light and when Tughlaq Shah and his *wazir*, Malikzada Firuz tried to escape from Firuzabad palace by a door leading to the Yamuna river, they captured and killed Firuz and hung up his severed heads on the palace gate.²⁹

7.1 Coinage

Except coins made of silver he issued the coins of gold, copper and billon. But the gold *tanka* are very rare (Cat No.48, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.126.) and none of his coins are common. In billon, he issued *tanka* of 96 *ratī* (10.8 gm) and other coins are of 80 *ratī* (9.1 gm), 48 *ratī* (5.4 gm) 32 *ratī* (3.6 gm).³⁰ Generally he followed the pattern of Firuz Shah's coins. As Firuz Shah's coins, the coins of Tughlaq Shah too bear the name of Abbasid caliph *Abu Abdullah* on reverse side and on obverse his own name and title. Some billon coins were also issued without the name of Caliph. These coins bear the title *naib amir-ul momenin* (deputy of commander of faithful i.e., Caliph).

Copper coins are known with short legend of *darul-mulk Dehli* or *hazrat Dehli* on reverse and *tughlaq shah sultani* on obverse (Cat No.48, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.127). His copper coins weigh about 4.2 and 2.2 gm.

Dehli is the only mint appearing on his coins sometimes with the epithet *darul mulk*.

8. FIRUZ SHAH ZAFAR (AH 791/ AD 1389)

Firuz Shah Zafar succeeded Tughlaq II but rule only for a few months. Surprisingly enough we do not have any evidence in the contemporary source such as *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* about Firuz Shah Zafar's accession to the Dehli throne. But because of the help of the coins issued by him we came to know about him.

As the previous ruler, his coinage consists of a rare gold issue, various billon issue, most of which are rare, and along with some copper coins. He continued largely with the same denominations as the earlier rulers of the Tughlaq dynasty and introduced also a billon coin of 64 *rati*, which would have been equal to two-thirds of a 96 *rati tanka*. The gold coin which he issued was of 10.8-11 gm and bearing the legend on obverse as *al-sultan al-azam firuz shah zafar ibn firuz shah al sultani* and *fizaman al-imam amir-al-muminin abu abd allah khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse side issued from mint of *hadrat Dehli* dated AH 791/ AD 1389. (Cat No.49, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.128). It is important to note here that some coins were bearing the legend *firuz shah zafar ibn firuz shah* which indicate that he had established his claim for throne no longer depend on the help of his parentage. But the standard of the billon coins by him gives us idea about its deterioration and makes it difficult for us to distinguish between billon and copper coins. As we know this was the period of decline for Tughluq dynasty and most of the powerful governors such as those of Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Gulberga, Gujarat etc had become quite powerful and gradually carved out independent kingdoms. We can gauge that because the tussel between Firuz Shah family member continued upto three years for capturing the royal throne. It certainly created a lot of pressure on the royal treasury.

In copper coins of Firuz there is a unique 4.3 gm, which was more or less similar to the senior Firuz Shah Tughlaq's *Jital*, with its mint name *darul mulk* on reverse side.

9. ABU BAKR SHAH (AH 791-793/ AD 1389-1390)

After the death of Firuz Shah Zafar, his son Abu Bakr Shah became the Sultan. He ruled for a year or so, his tenure as Sultan was very much disturbing for him because Mohammad, the son of Mohammad Bin Firuz, who had been associated with his father and issued coins in his own name in AH 789/ AD 1387 as mentioned earlier, was still alive. He making frequent attempts to dethrone Abu Bakr from the power. One of these eventually succeeded and finally at last Abu Bakr Shah was captured and ended his day as a prisoner in Meerut.

9.1 Coinage

The coin of Abu Bakr Shah is similar to that of his predecessor in as much there were coins struck in gold, which are now rare and silver *tanka*, have been found. The billon coins which are debased many of which types are also rare, issued by him along with limited copper coins. The deterioration of the billon currency which are very clear now so it is easy to confuse the billon coins with copper. The metrology of this coins is as the same as of the preceding ruler. His gold coins bear the legend *al-sultan al-azam abu bakr shah bin jafar bin firuz shah al-sultani* on its obverse side and *fizaman al-imam amir al muminin abi abd allah khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse dated AH 791 (Cat No.49, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.129) AD 1389 of 11 gm.³¹ They struck the coins of the weights of 96,80,64,48 and 32 *rati*. But amount of silver in them is almost nominal.

Three types of coins which had been issued by him create some problem for us. These coins were issued in the name of *firuz shah bin abu bakr shah* or some time *sultani* is added later on, and to of them are dated AH 792 (1389).³² Abu Bakr was the son of Firuz Shah Zafar, but the word Zafar is not there. Nothing is known of a Firuz Shah, son of Abu Bakr, but it does not mean that there was no such person. It might be possible that towards the end of Abu Bakr reign, one of his son had pretensions to the throne. All these coins related to this type are very rare.

10. MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ (AH 792-795/AD 1390-1392/3)

Muhammad bin Firuz who got the first taste of sovereignty when his father Firuz died in 1388 became the king, who was the son of his eldest son Fath Khan. Muhammad bin Firuz had to retired to Nagarkot. But after the death of Tughlaq Shah, he reasserted the claim of the royal throne and finally after the death of Abu Bakr Shah became the king once again, so, in AD 1390 the coins of both these rulers are known to us. Like his previous coins that were issued in billon and copper coins but in second term we have the evidence of gold coins too.³³

[In the billon series Mohammed Bin Firuz made an important innovation. He advanced his father's billon *tanka* from a piece of 80 to one of 96 *rati* and at the same period he retained the 80 *rati* piece of lower denomination. They remind us of the silver *tanka* and *adli* of Muhammad Tughlaq. These coins weighs 110 grains and are probably, therefore, the double of 32 *rati* piece which Firuz Shah took over from Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. These copper coins bear short legend consisted of name of the king Muhammad Shah, date of issue and its mint. Muhammad also introduced a new denomination in copper series too.] They are of 30 *rati* (8.5-9.1 gm), (Cat No.49, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.130) 40 *rati* (4.4 gm), (Cat No.50, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.131) 32 *rati* (3.4-3.6 gm), (Cat No.50, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.132) 20 *rati* (2.2 gm) (Cat No.50, Pl.No.XIX, Fig.No.133) and 10 *rati* (1 gm).

11. SIKANDAR SHAH-I (AH 795/ AD 1393)

After the death of Muhammad bin Furuz his son Sikandar* became the king but he too died only after forty-five days. The sultanate was disintegrating fast with factionalism and with outlying officers openly defying central authority. So, there are no coins made of gold and silver known to us. In his short period he issued billon coins of 80 and 32 *ratīs* only and the *falus* of 40 *rati*, its double, (Cat No.51, Pl.No.XX, Fig.No.134) half (Cat No.51, Pl.No.XX, Fig.No.135) and quarter (Cat No.51, Pl.No.XX, Fig.No.136) in copper. He used the same mint as his father i.e. *dar-ul-*

* His real name was Humayun, but when he became king he assumed the title of Alauddin Sikandar Shah

muluk Dehli. Except in helping to make out a genealogy of the Tughlaq ruler these coins do not help us in any other way.

12. MAHMUD SHAH BIN MUHAMMAD (AH 795-815/ AD 1393-1413)

Mahmud was the son of Muhammad Bin Firuz. His reign was very stormy. He had given the title of *malik-al-sharq* (king of the east) to khwaja Jahan and sent him to quell rebellions in the east but instead set himself up in Jaunpur and founded an independent Sultanate known as Sharqi dynasty. In AD 1394 son of Fath Khan, Nushrat Shah declared himself a king and both ruled from the different corner of Dehli, while the rest of the empire was practically ruling by powerful nobles. On the eve of Timurlane invasion in 1398 without facing Timur's army he fled away from Dehli and did not return till AD 1401. Till AD 1405 Dehli was practically ruled by Mulla Iqbal Khan, and for a time Mahmud retired to the fief of *Qanauj* (Kanauj) when the Mullah Iqbal Khan died, Mahmud was recalled to Dehli and remained the king till he died in AH 815/AD 1413.

He issued the coins of gold, silver, copper and bronze. In gold coins the ruler's titles is mentioned as *abul muzaffar* type on obverse and *Fizaman al imam amir al-muminin khulidat khilafutuhu* (Cat No.52, Pl.No.XX, Fig.No.137ABC) on reverse side. The name of mint and date of issue appeared on its margin.³⁴ These gold coins is of more than 11 gm weight and even his silver (Cat No.53, Pl.No.XX, Fig.No.138AB) Coins had the same weight.

It has been observed by Nelson Wright³⁵ that somewhere about in 1398 there was a revision in the weight of silver and gold coins. Gold coins of AD 1393 to AD 1396 are of normal weight that is 168 and 171 grain respectively. But the coins kept in the British museum issued in AH 800 /AD 1397-1398 are of 174.2 grain. The silver coins issued by Mahmud in AH 795 are of 164.8 grain but the two silver coins of the British museum weight of 171 and 174 grain. Even in a silver coins documented in the *Numismatic supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,³⁶ of the same type, with weigh 174 grain was issued by Mahmud which is dated AH 814. This certainly gave more strength to the observation of Nelson

Wright. Like the later Tughlaq rulers he too did not introduced any new type of the coins.

13. NUSHRAT SHAH (AH 797-802/ AD 1395-1399)

Nushrat Shah was the son of Fath Khan. He put forward his claim for the royal throne during the period of Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad. For several years both ruled as king of Dehli from different corner of the city. From AH 797 till AH 801 he issued coins. When Timur left Dehli after looting and plundering the city, Nushrat Shah reoccupied Dehli but his coins are not seen after AH 802/AD 1399.

Except billon he issued coins of three metals. Gold *tanka* of Nushrat are very rare and probably they were not for circulation but were struck for special occasions (Cat No.53, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.139). In copper coins he issued three types of the double *falus*, including the rare coins having the name of the mint *darul mulk Dehli* on reverse and *shah nushrat sultani* on the bottom of observe side.³⁷ Besides it we have the evidence that he also issued several varieties of *falus* and half *falus*.

14. IQBAL SHAH (AH 802 / AD 1399)

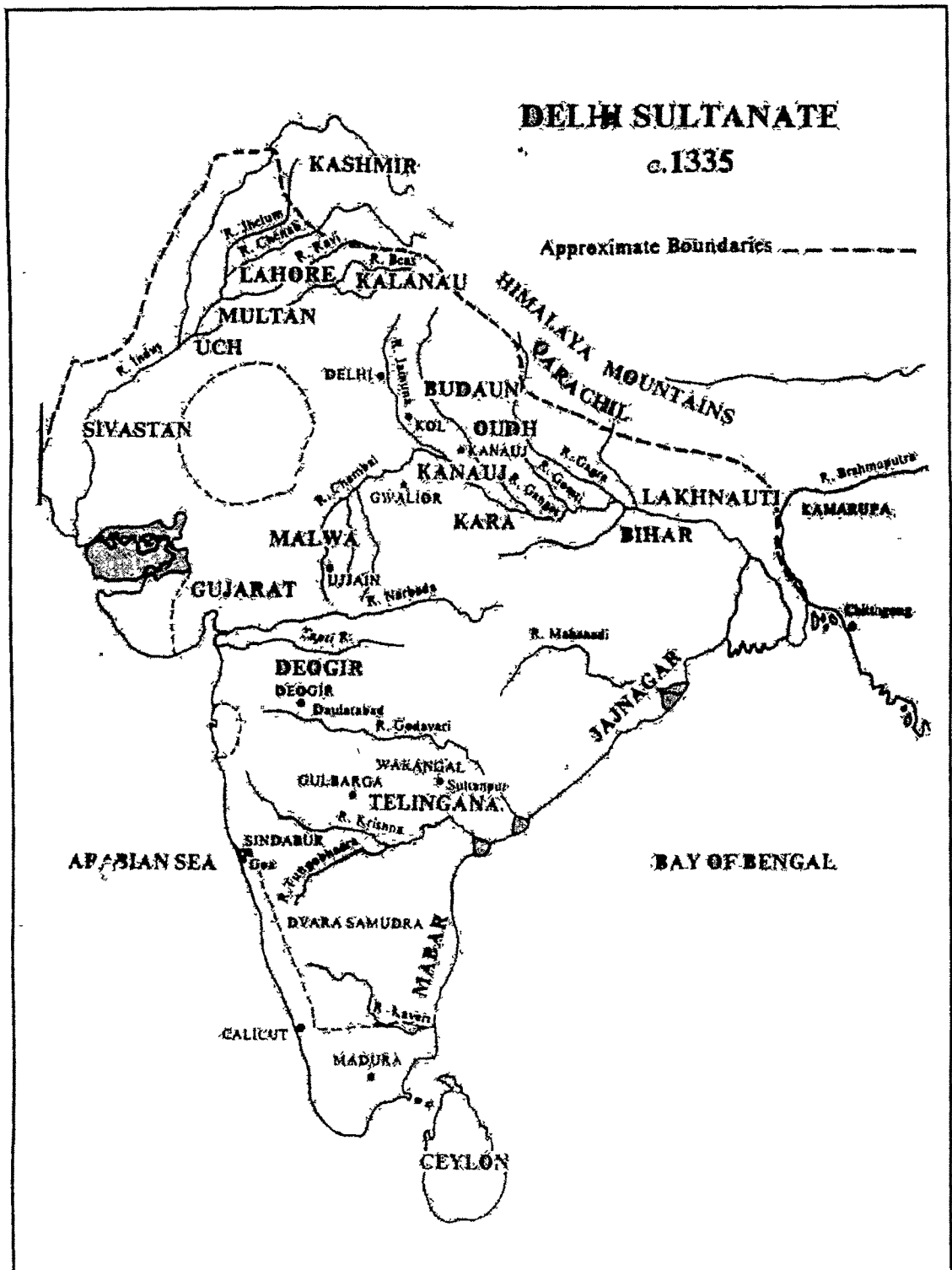
As we have already mentioned earlier that when Timur invaded Dehli in year AD 1398, the present Tughlaq king Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad fled away from here and returned only in AD 1401. In the absence of Mahmud, Dehli was ruled practically by Mulla Iqbal Khan. During his limited period of Kingship Mulla Iqbal Khan issued coins with the name of Iqbal Shah. Unfortunately till date we have come across only one gold coin issued by him dated AH 802 (AD 1399-1400). This coin bears the legend *al-sultan al-azam abul mansur Iqbal shah al-sultan* on its observe and *fizaman al-imam amir al-muminin khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse and is of 10.4 gm.³⁸ (Cat No.54, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.140).

15. DAULAT KHAN LODI (AH 815-817/ AD 1413-1414)

Historically he was the last ruler of Tughlaq dynasty but unfortunately we do not recover any coins which had been issued by him. He issued probably posthumous coins of Firuz Tughlaq (Cat No.54, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.141) and Mahmud bin Muhammad (Cat No.54,

Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.142) because their coins were dated the period of his reign. But those coins available to us belong to AH 816 / AD1413-1414. Except gold he issued coins in silver, copper and bronze. The silver *tanka* of 11.1 gm bearing the legend on its obverse side the name of *Mahmud bin Muhammad* on its obverse and *fizaman al-imam amir al-muminin khulidat khilafatuhu* on its reverse side. The billon and copper coins bear the name of Firuz Tughlaq. The available coins of billon and copper are having the weight of 9 and 4.5 gm respectively.

DELHI SULTANATE c.1335



CHAPTER-V

COINAGE AND METEOROLOGY OF THE TUGHLAQS

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CHAPTER – VI

COINAGE AND METEROLOGY OF SAIYYADS AND LODIS

1. SAIYYAD DYNASTY

1.1 Khidr/Khizr Khan (AH 817-824/ AD1414-1421)

[Khizr Khan was the founder of Saiyyads dynasty. Among all the dynasties of the Sultanate period, the Saiyyads had, next to the Khaljis, the shortest span of life – 37 years. The founder of this dynasty was the son of Malik Sultan, an adopted son of *Malik Nasirul Mulk* Mardan Daulat, an eminent *amir* of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*;¹ the only contemporary source for the Saiyyad dynasty says that Khizr Khan was a Saiyyad. Afif² the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* reported that Saiyyad Jalaluddin Bukhari *Makhdum-i-Jahanian* had once referred Malik Sulaiman (Father of Khizr Khan) as a Saiyyad.]

On the death of Sultan Mahmud (October AD 1412) the *amirs* and *maliks* paid homage to Daulat Khan. Some *maliks* like Mubariz Khan and *malik* Idris left Khizr and joined Daulat Khan's camp. For some time Khizr watched the situation and in November-December AD 1413, he marched against Delhi. After four months seize, Daulat Khan realized the hopelessness of his situation and surrendered himself. Delhi was now under the control of Khizr Khan. On 6 June, 1414, Khizr Khan entered Siri Fort with his army and took up his residence in the palace of Sultan Mahmud.³ He did not adopt the title of *Shah* and for three years had only the name of Shah Rukh, Timur's successor mentioned in public prayer. The Delhi Sultanate at that time was weak and had very limited territories. Khidr Khan made various raids into neighbouring territory to obtain revenue but was unable to extend his own lands. Moreover, the Turkish elements began to cause problems and various rebellions had to be dealt with. Khidr Khan died in AD 1421. He was a wise and benevolent ruler, but was unable to make his kingdom any better than many of the other independent ones which had arisen after the decline of the Tughlaq realm.

[Unfortunately he too, as Daulat Khan Lodi did not issue coins in his name and preferred to continue striking the same types of coins as his predecessors. Again there are posthumous silver coins in the name of Muhammad bin Firuz (Cat No.55, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.143) and *billon* (Cat No.55, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.144) and copper (Cat No.56, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.145) coins in the name of Muhammad bin Firuz Tughlaq. But the scarcity of silver coins compels us to think that probably they were not the part of every day currency. The coins issued by him dated between AH 817-823. We can summarize the history of coins of his reign saying that he simply preferred to maintain coins that had become popular in the recent past and merely altered the dates on them.]

2. MUBARAK SHAH (AH 824-837/AD 1421-1434)

Khizr Khan had assigned the command of the western areas to his son, Malik Mubarak in AD 1415. Before three days of his death, he finally nominated Malik Mubarak as his apparent heir. His nomination had the approval of all the important *amirs* and *maliks*. And when Khizr died, Mubarak ascended the throne on 22nd May 1421. After it Mubarak confirmed the amirs and maliks in their former *iqtas* and assignments. This adjustment was rendered necessary by the pressure of circumstances. Unlike his father he did not hesitate to adopt the royal title. During his reign, the Delhi Sultanate was threatened on all sides and it is to his credit that Mubarak was able to extend his boundaries. One of the main threats came from *Khokhars* of the Punjab. Their leader, Jasrath, made various attempts to capture Delhi, but failed on each occasion. More dangerous were Timurid invasions into India, led by the deputy governor of Kabul, Shaikh Ali. These, too, were repelled but with considerable difficulties. At last 9th February AD 1434, when Mubarak Shah was preparing to go for his Friday prayers, he was killed by Sidhipal with his swords and javelin⁴. According to Yahya Sirhindi, he ruled for seventeen years, three months and sixteen-days.⁵

2.1 Coinage

[He was the first ruler of Saiyyad dynasty to have issued coins in his name. But he too followed the policy of his father in his first eight years of

reign. He preferred to maintain of coins that had become popular in the recent past and merely altered the dates on them.)

[As Tughlaq ruler's his coins are of purely Islamic type. Interestingly like earlier Sultans of Delhi his coins do not bear the name of Caliph. Instead, Mubarak Shah calls *himself naib-i-amir-ul momenin* (deputy of commander of faithful, i.e. the caliph) on copper coins, while the gold and the silver coins bear the legend *faihad as-sultan al-ghazi*..... Like his father he too maintained the same types of coins of earlier Sultan such as *billon tanka* and copper *Jital* of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, (Cat No.55, Pl.No.XXI, Fig.No.146) gold coins of Muhammad bin Firuz (Cat No.56, Pl.No.XXII, Fig.No.147) and Mahmud.)

In the year AH 832, Mubarak Shah initiated a coinage of his own name. His silver coins retained the similar weight of Mahmud, that is of 174 grains, but the small coins are not common and those which are available, are not in good condition. Till now only one gold coin is available to us which bears his name and of 164 grains. Generally the silver and gold which he issued with his name bear the legend *fiyahd al-sutan al-ghazi al-mutawakkil ala rahman mubarak shah sultan* on its obverse.

[But the main feature of Mubarak Shah's coins are revision of the weights of copper coins. On the place of normal 40 *rati falus* which was continued since the days of Illutmish and its double the 80 *rati* coin which Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Struck first he introduced 48 *rati* (86.4 grains) and 96 *rati* pieces. He also struck a half *falus* of 24 *rati*, which is much rare. The gold and silver coins continued to weigh around 11 gm. Delhi is the only mint represented on the coins of Mubarak Shah. He issued no coins made of *billon*.)

3. MUHAMMAD SHAH (AH 837-849/AD 1434-1445)

After the assassination of Mubarak Shah, Muhammad Shah, who had been adopted as son by martyred Sultan became the king on 19th February 1434 with the assent of the *amirs, malikhs, imams, saiyyads, ulama* and the *gazis*.⁶ On 14th August 1434 Muhammad killed the main culprit of his father Sarwarul Mulk, who was creating problems for this new

king too. In the book of history Muhammad Shah is also known as Muhammad V and Muhammad Bin Farid*. He unfortunately was more interested in pleasure than government and the nobles invited Mahmud Shah of Malwa to come. He encamped at a place some ten miles from Delhi. Muhammad in turn summoned Bahlul Lodi, incharge of Sirhind, to assist him. An inconclusive battle was fought and on the next day Muhammad without consulting anyone sent emissaries for peace. Finally Mahmud Shah of Malwa was happy to agree terms and withdrew. Bahlul Lodi returned to the Punjab where he soon built up an important power-base. The Delhi kingdom meanwhile weakened. Multan became independent. Jaunpur added some Delhi territory and various local rulers asserted their independence. He breathed his last in AH 849 after an inglorious reign of ten years.

3.1 Coinage

[His reintroduction of *billon* coins on the name of the ruling Sultan is very significant feature of his reign. The absence of *billon* coins, so useful as fractions of the *tanka* had evidently caused inconvenience and it is no surprise to find Muhammad resuming coinage in the traditional mixed metal. Other important feature of his coins in that he slightly increased the weight standard of the coins of the metals that is gold, silver, copper and *billon*.] Similarly during his time weight of the larger coins of *billon* exceeds the maximum of 80 *rati* (144 grains). Rodges⁷ in his catalogue documented several such coins which weights vary between 144-147 grains. In the same way even the smaller ones sometimes exceeded 57.6 grains. The time honoured 32 *rati* coins also reappears.

Muhammad maintained the old tradition that the standard weight of the principal in which silver and gold coins should be a *tolah*. In copper coins suggest us that the division of the *tanka* into 40 parts, which was introduced by Mubarak was continued. Interestingly in respect of legend of the coins Muhammad Bin Farid followed the obverse type of Tughlaq Muhammad IV. But the obverse side of his gold and silver coins bear the

* He was the son of Farid Shah as reported by Yahya Sirhindi (p. 236)

name of his grand father (Khizr Khan) along the name of his own name and that of his father, such as, *al-sultan al-azam abul muhamid muhammad shah bin farid shah hadrat shah al-sultan*. (Cat No.57, Pl.No.XXII, Fig.No.148) His copper coins bear short legend as it was practised by Tughlaq rulers such as *Muhammad Shah Sultan*, on obverse, while, the date of issue and the name of the mint. But only one mint that is *dar ul-mulk* Delhi is minted over it. (Cat No.57&58, Pl.No.XXII, Fig.No.149ABCD)

4. ALAUDDIN ALAM SHAH (AH 849-855/AD 1445-1451)

Shortly before the death in AD 1445 Muhammad Shah summoned his son Alauddin from Badaun and nominated him as his successor. On this occasion Alauddin adopted the title of Alam Shah. His realm had become tiny and insignificant.

Alam Shah the last king of Saiyyad dynasty became ruler in AD 1445. But the governor of Lahore and Sirhind, Bahlul Lodi did not recognize this new Sultan. In order to escape from the pressure of Bahlul, the new Sultan moved his capital to Badaun in modern western Uttar Pradesh. But when Bahlul occupied Delhi after that Alauddin resigned his throne in favour of his governor in AD 1451. Finally Bahlul allowed him to reside in Badaun till his death AD 1478.

4.1 Coinage

He mainly issued coins of copper and *billon* weighing 9 gm. Some smaller denominations in *billon* and copper were also issued by him, they are of 3.5 gm and 4.5 gm respectively. But no gold coin of Alauddin Alam Shah is known to us and few coins of his silver *tanka* are recorded. They are of 11.5 gm in weight⁸. But Nelson Wright⁹ recorded only one coin of silver. Copper coins have the legend *naib amir ul-momenin* on one side and *alam shah* on the other (Cat No.58&59, Pl.No.XXII, Fig.No.150AB) and while the *Billon* coins are with the legend *khalifa amir ul-momenin khulidat khilfatuhu* and the date on the obverse and *sultan alam shah bin muhammad shah ba-hazrat Delhi* on the reverse.¹⁰ (Cat No.59, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No.151).

5. LODI'S DYNASTY

5.1 Bahlul Shah Lodi (AH 855-894/AD 1451-1489)

[Bahlul Shah ascended the throne of Delhi on 19th April 1451¹¹ at a propitious hour selected by the astrologers. According to Ferishta¹² that he had two coronations: one before and the other after his correspondence with Sultan Alauddin*. Alauddin was the last ruler of Saiyyid dynasty after AD 1451 he finally settled at Badaun till his death in AD 1476.] In fact the throne of Delhi to which Bahlul had been raised was not the bed of roses. The situation was worse than what the Khaljis had to face at the beginning of their rule. A caution and careful handling of the situation alone could remove these prejudices from the public mind. Bahlul could not possibly be sure of his position unless he had organized a strong and efficient governing class to shoulder the burden of the empire. So Bahlul's initial task was to recreate the Delhi sultanate and to extend its territories. He fought a lengthy war with the Jaunpur Sultanate, which he finally succeeded in annexing, driving the last of the *Sharqi* rulers, Husain into exile. He placed his son Barbak, on the throne of Jaunpur. He also led various campaign into neighbouring districts to conquer or gain the allegiance of the rulers concerned. During his lengthy rule, he succeeded in reviving the Delhi sultanate and in rehabilitating its prestige. His constant military campaigns, however, left him little time for reorganising the administration.

5.2 Coinage

[As we have seen after Taimur's invasion in AD 1398, the issue of gold and silver dwindle to markedly small proportions.¹³ Because of this Bahlul discontinued coins of gold and silver altogether and rely more on a currency of *billon* and copper. Because according to a historian of Lodi dynasty that gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty.]

[His basic currency of *billon* was the *tanka* of 80 *rati* as Muhammad Tughlaq had done before him when he replaced silver by *billon tanka*.] The

* Alauddin was the last ruler of Saiyyad dynasty, after AD 1451 he finally settled at Badaun till his death in AD 1476.

subordinate of this above *billon* coins is of 32 *rati*. Analysis of the same of the *tanka* revealed the fact that it content silver around 16%. Because of some special feature the *billon tanka* issued by him is known as *bahlulis*. A contemporary source *Zubdatu-i-Tawarikh* based on a history, whose author derived his information from personal experience of the reigns of the second and third Lodis, refers both of *bahlulis* and *tanka* as standard coins of Ibrahim Lodi's time.

As we have already mentioned about 32 *rati* of *tanka*, which were based on the standard of higher *rati* was first introduced by Muhammad V of Tughlaq dynasty. This denomination was later continued by Alam Shah which are found during the reign of Bahlul in vogue. Like the predecessors, Bahlul too gave importance to the caliph and his coins bear the legend *fi zaman amir-ul-muminin khulidat khilafatuhu* and date on obverse side of his coins. On reverse side of his *billon tanka*, Bahlul styles himself as *al-mutawakkil al-rahman bahlul shah sultan* and bear the mint name. (Cat No.60, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No.152.)

[Bahlul's coins of copper had several denomination, which started at 48 *ratīs* and then reduced to 40. But in the year AH 890, the double *falus* of 80 *rati* reduced to 64 *rati*. Bahlul issued only double *falus* of 64 *rati* which bear the name of the mint *dar-ul-mulk*, Delhi Till AH 888. After his conquest of Jaunpur, their place was taken by *falus* struck at the city of Jaunpur (Jaunpur Shahar).]

[Coins struck at Jaunpur markedly lower than, those of Delhi *falus* copper coins issued by him are with brief legends as earlier such as Bahlul Shah and *naib-Amir-ul-momenin* (Cat No.60, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No153) on the obverse and reverse side respectively.]

6. SULTAN SIKANDAR LODI (AH 894-923/AD 1489-1517)

[Before Bahlul died, he distributed his territories among his relatives and *amirs* and nominated his son, Nizam Khan as his heir. But after the death of Bahlul Lodi, the nobles met at Milanli, a village 15 miles north of Sakti, in order to discuss the question of his successor.] Finally among the three princes, Nizam Khan, Barbek Khan and Azam Humayun, kingship

was decided in the favour of Nizam Khan. The coronation took place on the bank of the Kali Nadi, on a mound which was once a hunting pavilion of Firuz Shah Tughlaq as was known as *Kaushak-i-Firuz*.¹⁴ Soon after it, Sultan Sikandar (Earlier Nizam Khan) proceeded to Delhi. The most formidable task before him was to induce the Afghan nobles to accept his authority and force his relations to submit. He gained full control of Bihar when he drove the former Sharqi ruler from his exile there into Bengal with whose ruler he concluded a peace treaty. He became involved in the affairs of the Malwa Sultanate during the civil war period around AD 1510-1513 and gained temporary control of Chanderi. He also gained some limited success against neighbouring Rajput states. In AD 1499, he moved his residence to Sambhal for few years, before transferring his capital to Agra, where he built a new town. He died in AD 1515 from disease. Sikandar took steps to reorganise the government of the Sultanate and slowly managed to centralise the administration. Trade and agriculture flourished and there was much literary activity during his reign.

6.2 Coinage

[Sikander Lodi went one step further in comparison to his father in confining his currency exclusively to *billon*. On the early stage of his reign, the weight of *billon tanka* and its fractions keeps well to the standard (80 *rati*). Now he reduced its value to that of the 32 *rati billon* of Bahlul and its value to that of the 32 *rati billon* of Bahlul and its shape become irregular. There are two series of these *billon* coins. The first one issued from AH 900 issued from Delhi and the second one is without any mint name with more angular writing. According to Wright the second one is probably as camp issue.¹⁵ His coins bear the name *Sikandar Shah* along with the father *bahlul shah sultan* on the obverse and *fi-zaman amir-ul-momenin* on the obverse side of the coins.¹⁶ In recent years, a gold coin¹⁷ dated AH 919 weighing 11.2 gm has been reported as being extremely rare. (Cat No.60, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No154).]

7. SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI (AH 923-932/AD 1517-1526)

[After the death of Sultan Sikander his eldest son, Ibrahim was raised to the throne on 22nd November 1517.] The nobles, however, did not like political power to be concentrated in the hands of one person as had happened during the reign of Sikander. So the nobles arranged for the division of the empire into two units. One under the Ibrahim and other under his younger brother Jalal Khan. The country up to the border of the former kingdoms of Jaunpur was to be under Ibrahim, while, Jalal Khan was to govern the territory ruled over by *Shariqis*.

After the coronation, Ibrahim in order to alienate the nobles of Jalal from him and to win them over to his side. Some of the important *maliks* of Jalal, who had thirty to forty thousands soldiers under their commands like Darya Khan Nuhani, *Hakim* of the wilayat of Bihar, Nasir Khan, *Jagirdar* of Ghazipur and *Shaikhzada* the *zabit* of Awadh and Lucknow deserted their master and joined Ibrahim. After consolidating the power finally, a second coronation was then celebrated by Ibrahim on 29 December 1517. *Jagirs*, robes of honour, posts and assignments were bestowed on nobles and officer on this occasion. This second coronation was in fact a public declaration of the abrogation of the earlier arrangement of Ibrahim's claim to have sovereign rights over the areas formerly assigned to Jalal.

7.1 Coinage

[Ibrahim followed the currency system of his father. In his Delhi realms he struck only *billon* coins and even there, he issued only half and quarter *tanka* apparently based on 96 *rati tanka* standard. The quality of these coinage are poor. His coins are noticed with a lower weight as compared to his father's coins. They weigh about 5.2 gm and 2.6 gm.] After the conquest of Chanderi in Malwa he also struck copper and silver coins in his name in the Malwa style. It bears the legend *ibrahim shah lodi bin sikandar shah* on one side and *as-sultan bin as sultan* on the other this coin weighs about 7.4gm.

[We have also come a cross two strange coins with the names of the Kangra rulers Prayaga chandra¹⁸ and Ram Chandra,¹⁹ who ruled c. AD 1517-1527. These coins weighs about 2 gm. Their legends are in

Devangiri. Prayaga Chandra (Cat No.61, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No.155) and Rama Chandra (Cat No.61, Pl.No.XXIII, Fig.No.156) who were ruling in Kangra probably accepted the suzerainty of Ibrahim and issued the coins with Ibrahim titles and their names. These coins are made of copper.]

8. SULTAN MAHMUD LODI (AH 935/ AD 1528)

The first battle of Panipat in 1526, which resulted in the defeat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi gave the possession of Agra, Delhi and Punjab to Babar. Mahmud Lodi brother of Ibrahim Lodi was the prisoner of his brother in AH 923/ AD 1517. After the battle of Panipat released himself from prison and sought shelter with Rana Sanga of Mewar.²⁰ Pathan soldiers under Mahmud along with the help of Rana Sanga were intent on recovering Delhi and Agra. But in the battle of Khanwa on March 17, 1527 they were defeated by Babur's army again Mahmud Lodi fled to Chittor. After the death of Sultan Muhammad Lodi in 1528, there was confusion in Bihar. To prevent the disaster, the Pathan had invested Mahmud. He came and ascended the throne of Bihar by ousting its young ruler Jalal Khan, son of Sultan Muhammad.²¹ After that the defeat at Ghazipur and at Buxar, Mahmud fled away and sought asylum with Nashrat Shah, king of Bengal with his family. Nushrat Shah married the daughter of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and fixed a pension for his uncle-in-law i.e., Mahmud Lodi.²² Finally Mahmud died in exile in Orissa in AD 1542.

8.1 Coinage

A single *billon tanka* ²³ in his name is known to us. This coin which for some time lay unnoticed. Because his sovereignty was short-lived and little more than nominal. This solitary coins is of considerable interest. This solitary coin is of considerable interest as confirming the testimony of written history such as *Tarikh-i-Shershahi*. This coin weighs about 9.1 gm and the legend on obverse in *mahmud shah bin sikandar shah bin bahlul* and *fi-zaman amir-al-muminin khulidal khilfatuhu* on reverse side.

[One of the most important features of the coins of Lodi Sultans in the calligraphy used on their coins, which not resemble that of any other sultanate of Delhi, rather, it resembles the calligraphy used on the coins of Jaunpur Sultans.]



CHAPTER VI

COINAGE AND METEROLOGY OF SAIYYADS AND LODIS

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CHAPTER VII

IMPACT OF COINS ON TOURISM

1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism and holiday-making on global as well as national scale symbolise, today, prosperity and fraternity.

A place can become a tourism destination if it has the necessary facilities. A broad enough base of activities and interests keeps the tourists occupied for several days, possibly weeks or even months. The quality of facilities and services lead to the satisfaction of tourists during their visits. The basic attractions provide the primary motivation for tourists.

The administration bases the prime responsibility of promoting tourism and provide adequate proper arrangements.

The questionnaire survey has provided evidence to the fact that coinage can have a high potential for promoting tourism industry. The role of coins in tourism and the promotion of this new field of tourism has to be encouraged to reflect an important era of Indian History, 800 AD – 1500 AD.

This paper is an attempt to encourage researchers to find a link between the historical importance and value on one side and today's impact on the other, and to open a new door for innovative research and an overview of coinage plays an important role in tourism, and it also gives archeological evidence for a socio-culture of the past.

The language, fabric, sample, metal, the shape making style etc. of a given coin can indicate several important meanings and can open a new research horizon.

1.1 Definitions of Terminology

The definition adopted by WTO (World Tourism Organisation) also specifies that a foreign tourist must spend a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of six months in a country other than his own, living in hotels or other commercial accommodations where he pays in his own currency. Another definition can be derived as: "Man has a curious nature to explore the thing not just around but out of his surrounding as civilized society / world we name it tourism which takes a person out of his nature place with an enthusiasm to see new things and experience the variety."

This tourism can serve various purposes such as business, medical, political, educational for pilgrimage etc.

According to Dr. Zivadin, tourism "is a social movement with a view to rest, diversion, and satisfaction of cultural needs".

The above definitions cover economic, educational, cultural and social aspects of tourism. With the above conditionalities, persons visiting a country for the following purposes will be covered by the given definition of the term "tourist":

- (1) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sports), and
- (2) Business (family, mission, meetings).

Coinage tourism is an attempt to focus on the role of coins and to draw the attention of tourist as well as the authority for more development to help and improve the tourism industry.

Coinage Tourism is the phenomenon and relationship of the past as a model to reflect the culture, religion, social, economical, political stability, arts, science, education, language and history value at a specific time and era with defined size.

1.2 The Links

Through the history of civilization of mankind, the importance of wealth, faith and culture has been a sign for stability and peace.

Taking a closer look at coins which were introduced by particular kings or rulers, it can be observed that the respective currency was still in use long time after the dynasty ruler had disappeared. The period of validity of certain coin reflects the power of the ruler who introduced it. The precious metal and gold used reflect the rulers state wealth and trade, the languages script engraved on the coins indicate the domination of that language which helped to achieve more education and interaction between several societies and civilizations.

The figure of a king with his dress, an animal, a bird and/or sample striked in the coins gives us a valuable history coverage of a particular civilization. From a historical and archeological point of view this source is more important than any historical /archeological site.

1.3 Research Needs

The information gap that this research intends to fill up is the knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of coinage tourism industry. The prime attractions and distractions for the tourists in India, if identified, will accordingly be used in marketing and promotion of tourism packages along with the importance of coinage.

The optimum can only be achieved by consulting the visitors (tourists, here) themselves. Their participation in design, development and promotion of the tourism packages and services will certainly lead coinage tourism to an unprecedented growth and prosperity.

1.4 Nature Of Study

The nature of this study is characterized by the following features

- (1) It is a social science research,
- (2) It is exploratory, method and

(3) It has an applied bias.

It is social research: Considering the broad classification of research, we put this project into the social research category. Promoting coinage tourism is a social process since it depends upon the complex social behaviour of the foreign tourists.

Being a social research, the study tries to identify the complex human behaviour and the set patterns in it. A social research may not be as precise and accurate in making predictions as researches in physical sciences.

Advance in social research methods has nevertheless increased the accuracy of predictions considerably.

It is Exploratory: The approach of the study is exploratory in the sense that it is mostly directed towards identifying the various characteristics of the tourists and their behaviour, while paying attention to the coin section. This approach generally follows new areas of investigation where the problem itself may not be very clear and needs to be diagnosed. The domain of the research is also required to be reasonably wide but properly specified.

This particular nature of the project has made it a more general and comprehensive study in which no individual researcher achieves a total coverage, but the relative significance and weightage of these coverage highlighted in order to fix the priorities.

It has an applied bias: This study relies on empirical evidence. Relying on experiences and observations is always preferable over relying solely on theory or assumptions. Especially when the available information is insufficient, the empirical study is the only way to obtain. This approach of the study will be reflected more clearly by the forthcoming explanation of the methodology of research.

2. METHODOLOGY

It may be useful at this stage to attempt to crystallize the whole research project presenting a blueprint of the study. The prerequisite for the purpose will be to specify the data requirements, and then to find the ways and means to collect the same.

2.1 Information Requirements

Keeping in mind the research problem, a list of the needed information will be helpful. Going through the objectives and hypotheses stated in the preceding paragraphs, it is not very difficult to set down the following information needed for the purpose.

- (1) The purposes of the tourists visit regarding attention of coins sections.
- (2) Preference of tourists for different places and museums.
- (3) The Historical image of northern India as a tourist resort.
- (4) The quality of placement and presentation of coins section
- (5) The actual information regarding coins for prior to their coins section visit.

It was decided that the data should be collected from both primary and secondary sources. For the collection of data from primary sources, a structural non-disguised questionnaire was administered to an average section of tourists. A convenient sample of 170 foreign tourists was taken while ensuring that the different nationalities would sufficiently be covered in the sample.

2.2 Questionnaire Design

To collect information from the sample members, a questionnaire was designed which was either filled up by the tourists themselves or by the researcher who interviewed them/their guide because of the language problem. The kind of questionnaire needed is a sample and straight-forward one, in a language that the respondents can understand, a get-up

that may retain their interest till the end, a style that may not cause irritation and contents that may not lead to a non-response from their side.

A good questionnaire is easy to understand, simple to answer, and interesting to complete. Keeping these principles in mind, a sample and comprehensive questionnaire was prepared and its draft, as used in the research, has been included in the end of this chapter.

The whole analysis ensures that the respondents give the correct answers. But whether they really do so or not is a different question. The problem calls for attention to the validity and reliability aspects of the questionnaire.

Validity means the ability of a device to measure what it intends to measure. Reliability, on the other hand, means ensuring proper use of the device, when the device is supposed to be valid. Therefore, a valid measurement may not be reliable, or, alternatively, a reliable measurement may not be valid.

Repeating the use of the same device a number of times increases the reliability, and using a number of devices to measure the same thing will increase the validity of the measurement. Both these conditions have been fulfilled in this research. The same questionnaire was administered to a sample of sufficiently large size and the results of questionnaire analysis were cross-checked by other sources. The following other sources of data were used:

- (1) Interviews with tourism authorities of the Government of India
- (2) Interviews with tour operators
- (3) Interviews with guides who accompany the tourists on sight-seeing tour.

2.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

An analysis involves converting a series of recorded responses on the questionnaires into descriptive statements and inferences about the

issues of study. The important steps followed in the analysis of this survey are:

- (1) Editing
- (2) Coding

In the processes of coding, categories were made for the answers to open-ended questions relating to nationality.

In the analysis the frequencies of each response are multiplied with a numerical weight (e.g. +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, for a five point scale). This summated scale system facilitates the achievement of the total attitude scale which is comparable to other such scores.

The sample size in this survey is 170 which represents a very small proportion of the tourists visiting India. This has been realized regarding the difficulty of getting responses from foreign tourists in the capacity of a stranger. The nationalities where English is not understood are also under-represented in the sample because of the language barrier in interaction with them.

Also the restricted choice of literature regarding this field of research, with almost no researcher having studied the effect of coinage to encourage tourists or to develop tourism industry before was an obstacle

3 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The significance of tourism is to help the development of the national economy and understand the mechanism of travel strategies.

The major role in promoting coinage tourism is played by the Government Authorities and private travel agencies. Comprehensive information and brochures should be available to potential tourists and (coinage interested) persons and researchers interested in coinage. But it is required by those concerned that more proactive and better coordination and targeted programmes and research works are needed to exploit more potential in coinage tourisms.

Drawing conclusions about the coinage tourism and studying its effectiveness, the evaluation of coinage tourism will be responses in the sample studied, and the conclusions will consequently be drawn and a recommendation made on that basis. Enquiries and personal interviews reveal that there is almost no awareness about coinage tourism among the tourists and tourism industry.

3.1 Limitation of the Research Problem

The identification of specific limitation that the researcher faced during his investigation was done mainly on the basis of responses received by the sample through the questionnaire. The problems and limitation faced by the researcher were as following:

1. Unawareness of the interviewed tourism officials and private agencies.
2. Unawareness and lack of previous knowledge of interviewed tourists in Museum.
3. Limitation of literature
4. Limitation of display of coins in an attractive way in museums.

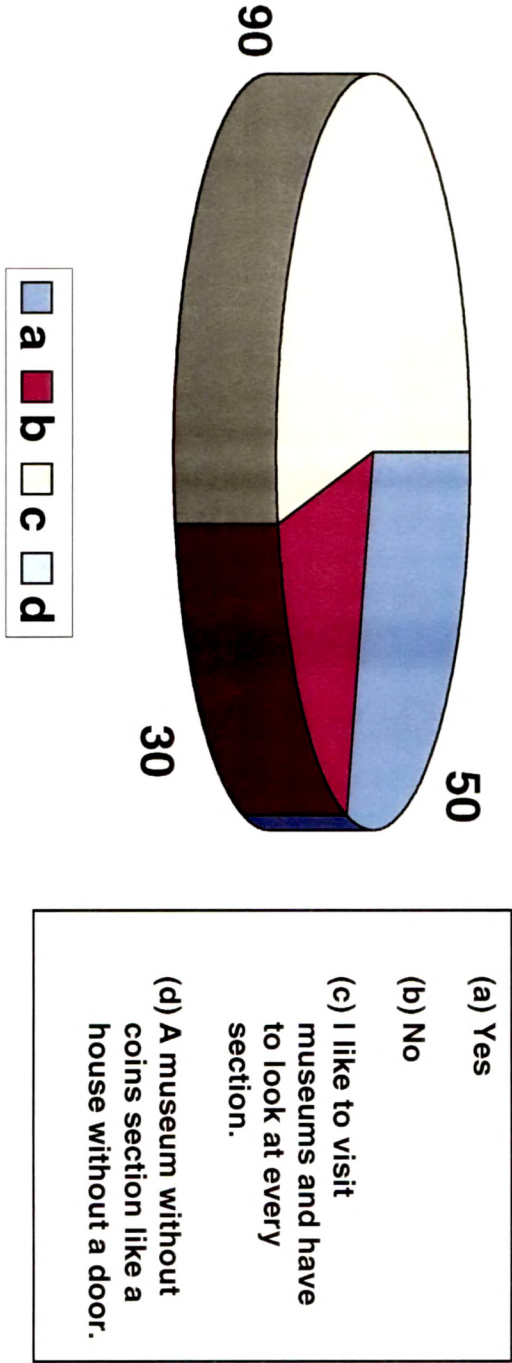
3.2 Suggestions for Promotion

1. Awareness around museum officials since some rare coins can be equally important to archeological sites.
2. The tourists mostly do not know enough about the heritage and attractive features of coins, and museums should give proper and appropriate information about this topic.
3. Brochures should include coin illustrations and information.

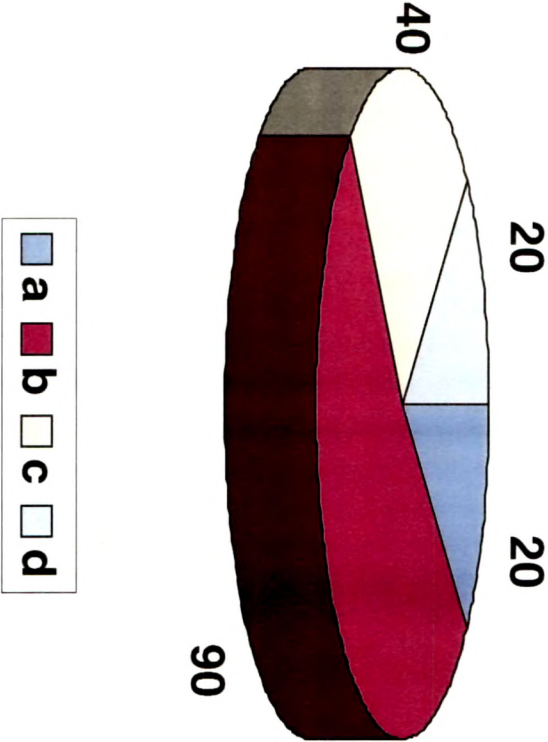
3.3 Conclusion

The analysis of primary and secondary data collected by the researcher indicates that the short-term as well as long-term future of coinage tourism is bright. India possesses a variety of historical coins

When you visit a Museum, do you have any intention to look at the coins section?

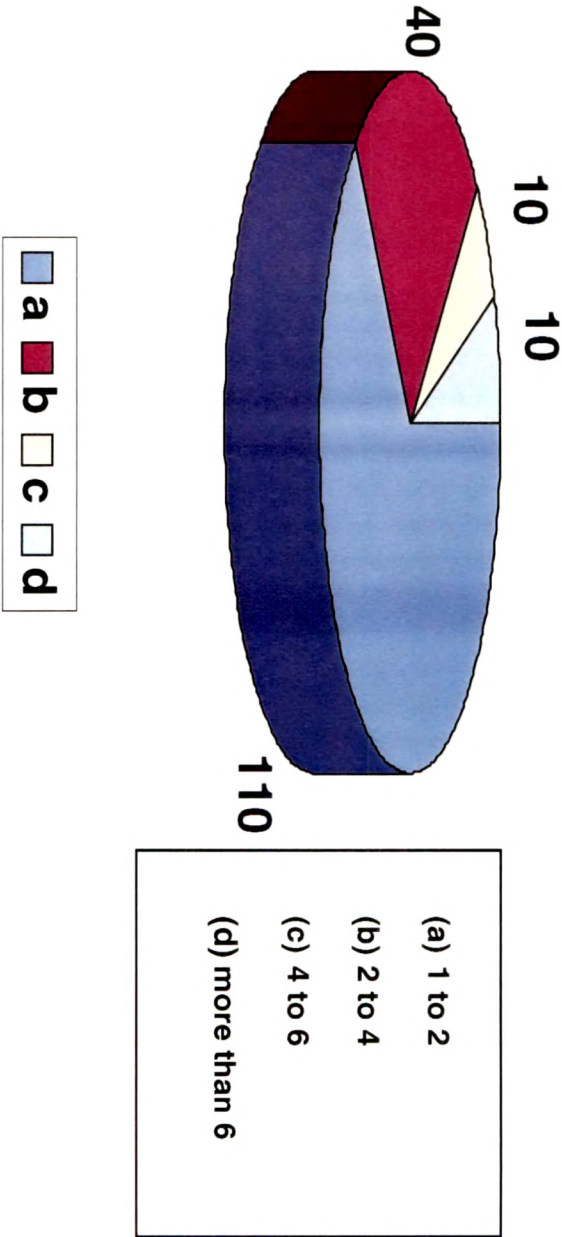


The Placement and the Presentation of the coins
section at museums in Indian museums:

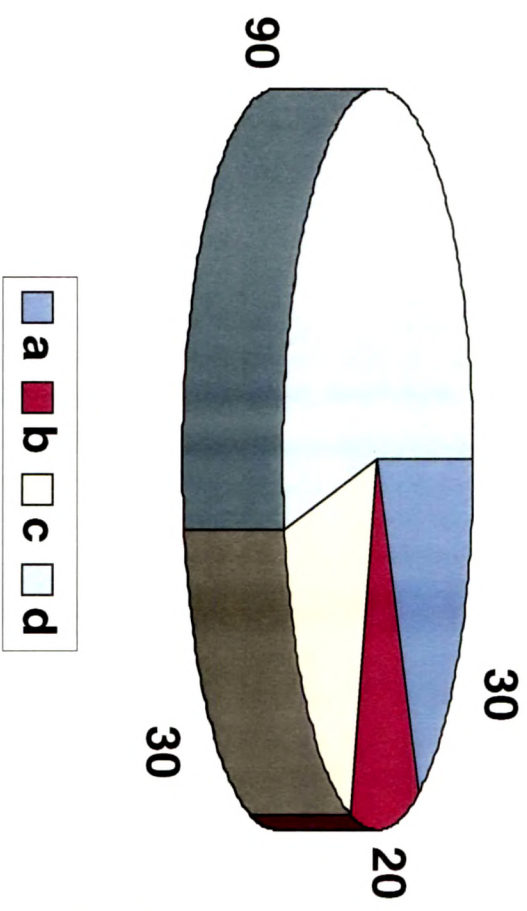


- (a) Attracts me
- (b) Is not up to standard
- (c) Encourage tourists
- (d) A + C

How many museums in India you have visited which have coins?

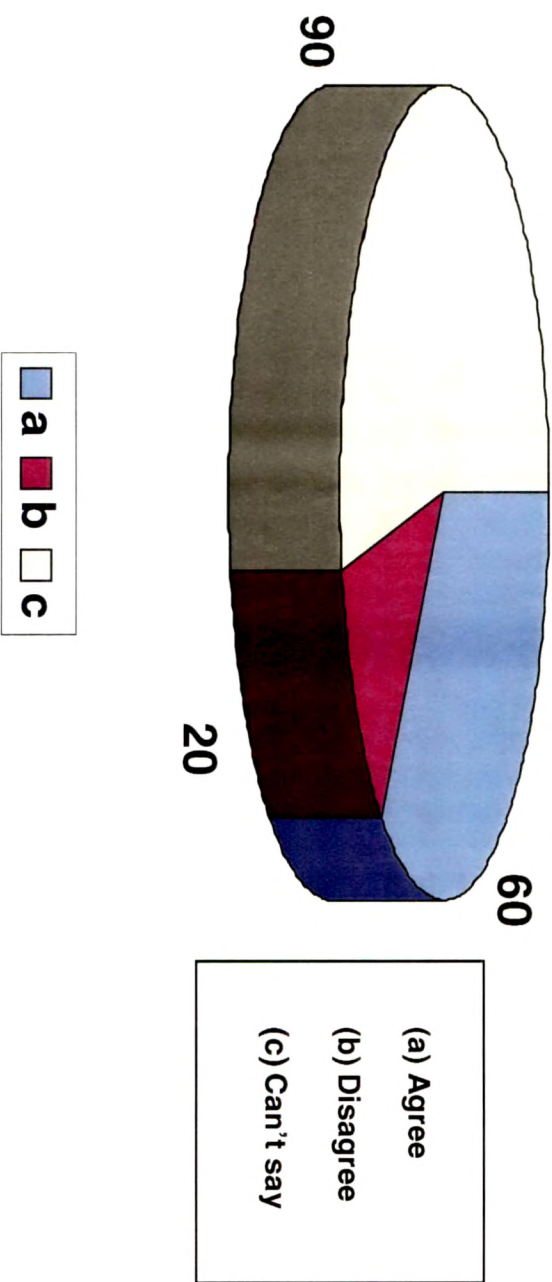


Coins can reflect the culture and religion, as well as social interaction among the subject of that era:

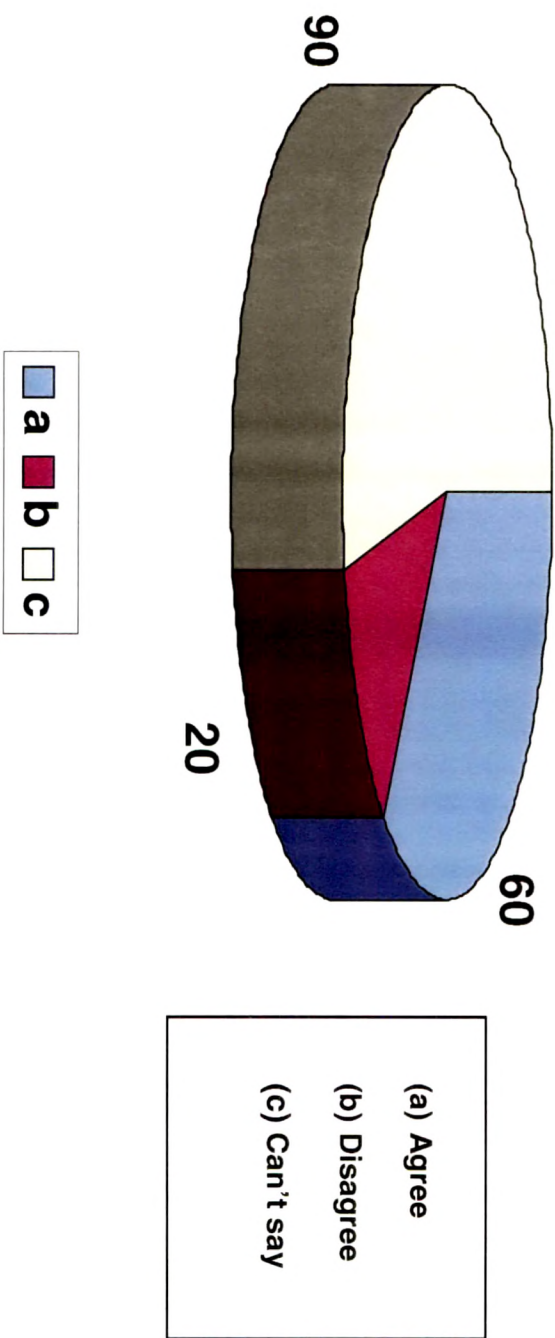


- (a) India reflects a model of culture, religion and social tolerance since centuries.
- (b) Some coins reflects different faiths.
- (c) At the strike of coin the cloth worn by the kings reflects the culture and social values.
- (d) Some coins can be equal to for archeological site and monuments by a historical point view

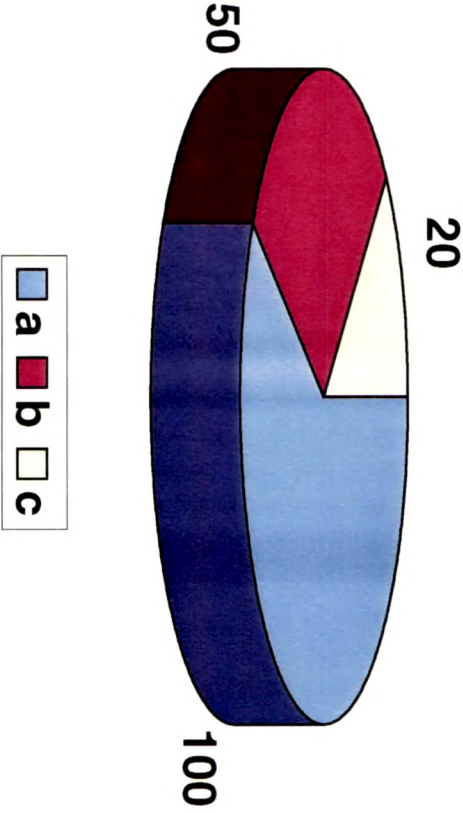
The wealth and economical situation can be indicated by the kind of metal used (Gold, silver or copper) and size.



The wealth and economical situation can be indicated by the kind of metal used (gold, silver or copper) and size.

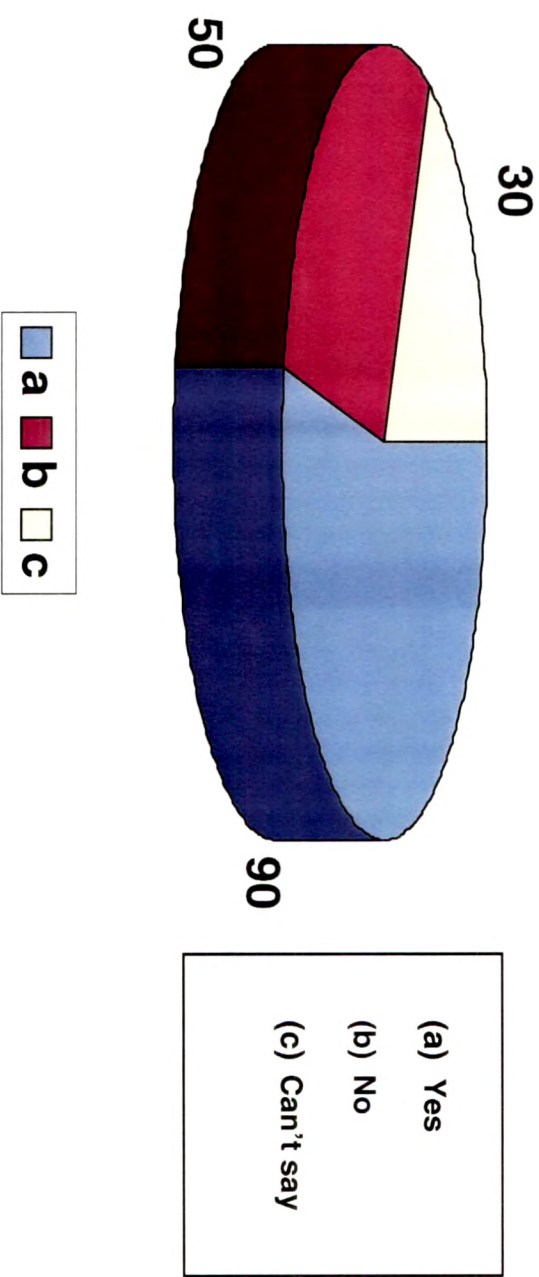


When passing by road paths and seeing a seller of old coins and antique, I stop and have a look:

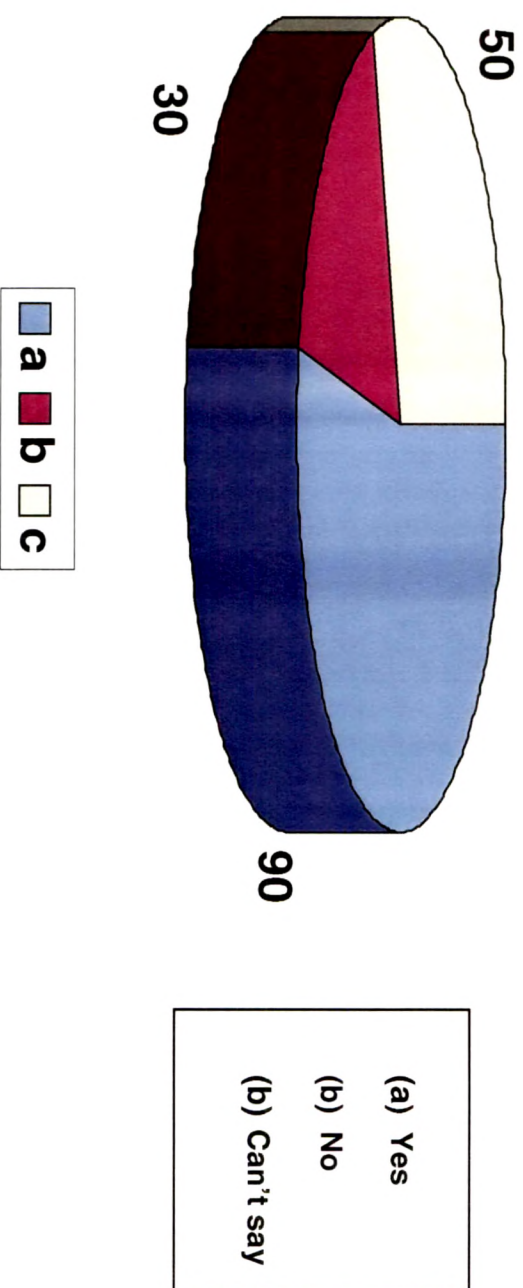


- (a) Agree
- (b) Disagree
- (c) Can't say

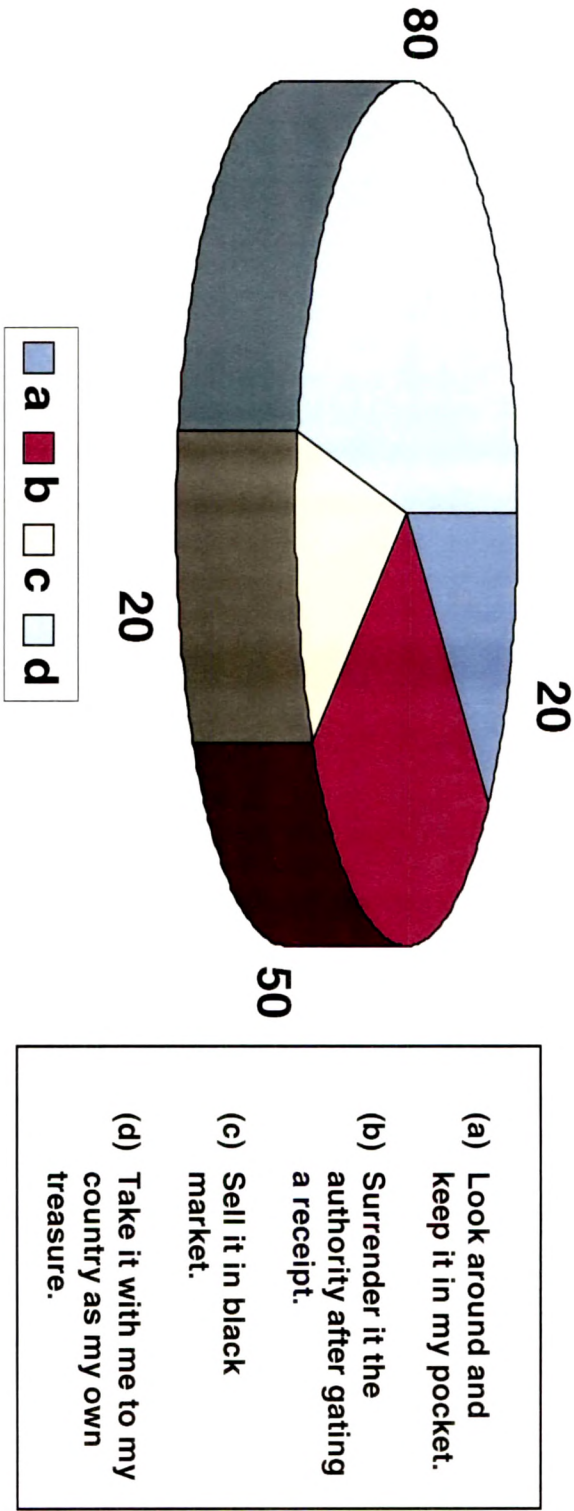
One coin can reflect an era of time as valuable as
a history book



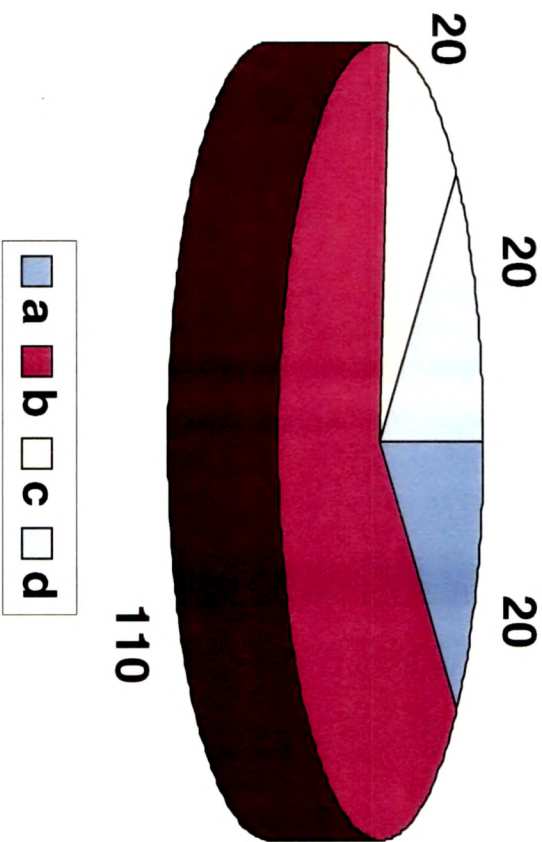
Sequence of coins issued by the same ruler/king can indicate the political stability during his reign:



If I find an old coin, I:



Coins as an Education Means:



- (a) The writing on the coins encourages the mass to read and write.
- (b) The writing minted indicated the official language used at that era.
- (c) The writing minted in Arabic indicated the interaction language of those eras.
- (d) All above.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name

Country

Dear Sir/Madam,

This is a survey regarding "The impact of coins on tourism" I will use this information for my doctoral research as well as for bringing attention to the pertinent subject of COINAGE. Your help and participation is appreciated.

Thanking you,

Khalil S Ali Adwan

This questionnaire is based on surveys with foreign tourist touring India & they visited more than 3 Museums.

- (1) When you visit any Museum do you have intention to look for a coins section?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
 - (c) A Museum without coins section like a house without a door
- (2) The placement & presentation of coins section at museums at Indian museums
- (a) Attracts me
 - (b) Is not up to standard
 - (c) A +C

- (3) How many museums in India have you visited which have coins section
- (a) 1 to 2
 - (b) 4 to 6
 - (c) More than 6
- (4) Coins can reflect the culture & religion, as well as social interaction among the subject of that era
- (a) India reflects a model of culture, religion & social tolerance since centuries.
 - (b) Some coins reflect different faiths.
 - (c) At the strike of coins the cloth worn by the kings reflect the culture & social values.
 - (d) All above
- (5) The wealth & Economical situation can be indicated by the kind of metal used (Gold, silver or copper) & size.
- (a) Agree
 - (b) Disagree
- (6) By passing by road path & seeing a seller of old coins and antique, I stop and have a look
- (a) Disagree
 - (b) Can't say

- (7) One coin can reflect an era of time as valuable as a history book
- (a) Agree
 - (b) Disagree
- (8) Sequence of coins issued by the same ruler/king can indicate the political stability during his reign.
- (a) No
 - (b) Can't say
- (9) The shape, writing & the print of coins represent the technique & Technology used at that time.
- (a) No
 - (b) Can't say
- (10) If I find an old gold coin I:
- (a) Look around & Keep it in my pocket
 - (b) Sell it in black market
 - (c) Trade it with me to my country as my own treasure
- (11) Coins as an Education Means.
- (a) The writing on the coins encourages the mass to read and write.
 - (b) The writing minted in Arabic indicated the interaction language of those eras.
 - (c) All above.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Coins as the medium of exchange play vital role in the economic life of the people and thus focus on the prevailing conditions of the country. But this aspect of the coinage of the Sultans of Delhi has not yet been properly studied. Because, the proper information necessary for this study lack in the contemporary chronicles. No writer of that time discussed them with that importance as did Abul Fazl regarding the coinage of Akbar of the Mughal period. If they referred to them anywhere of their work it was casual. So it is such a vague that it does not convey any valuable information to fulfill our purpose. The ultimate result is that the perfect currency system of the Sultans of Delhi still remains unknown. Much speculations were made by scholars like Edward Thomas, H.R. Nevill and H.N. Wright in this regard but their discussions were limited only on a few aspects of this coinage and not on the whole currency system, and in this limited area too they differed on many vital points.

For example, regarding the silver and gold *tankahs* of the Sultans of Delhi, Thomas was of the opinion that they were struck to a standard weight of 100 *ratīs*. So he converted the weight standard of these coins in grains troy at 175 grains taking 1.75 grains for a *rati*. H.N. Wright and H.R. Nevill on the other hand fixed the weight standard at 96 *ratīs* and converted it into 172.8 grains troy taking 1.8 grains for a *rati*. These scholars have only theorized and have not take any pains to consider the

actual weight of the coins. The known weight of the tankah/rupaya coins of the Khalji rulers does to go beyond 170.3 grains troy and their lower limit is 165 grains. Almost the same appears the weight of the *tankahs* of the Turkish Sultans who issued the coin of this denomination first.* As such it may well be said that the weight standard was confined in the proximity of 168-170 grains (10.90-11.04 grammes).

Here it may be pointed out that we have now the treatise of Thakkur Pheru, the mint-master of the khalji rulers. He speaks that the gold and silver coins weighed 1 *tola* and he does not reckon it in terms of *ratih*. Instead he gives the weight system as follows:

1 tola	3 tankas
1 tanka	4 mashas
1 masha	16 jahas
1 jaha	20 viswas

The conversion of these weights in terms of grains troy taking the maximum 170 grains / 11.04 grammes for the tola which is the weight of a *tankah* or *rupaya* coin, we have the following results:

1 tola	11.04 gms / 170 gns
1 tankah	3.68 gms / 56.67 gns
1 masha	0.9167 gms / 14.16 gns
1 jaha	0.573 gms / 8.85 gns
1 viwa	0.029 gms / 0.4425 gns.

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As in the case of tankahs the above scholars measured the billon coins too in terms of *rati*, but Thakkur Pheru tells us that they weight one tanka (3.68 gms / 56.7 gns). When we practically look at these coins we find that they all weigh only in the proximity of 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns. It means that they are of the weight of one *tankah* and this confirms Thakkur Pheru. While dealing with these billon coins Pheru says that *Iggani*, *Dugani*, *Chaugani*, *Chahagani* and *Athagani* – all are uniformly of the weight of one tanka i.e., 3.68 gns / 56.67 gns and differ only in their silver content. These metrological weight as they appear are not the innovations of the Khalji rulers of their own, but they have been adopted by them in their coinage from the traditional metrology that were current from earlier times particularly from the time of Iltutmish.

Thakkur Pheru has clearly mentioned the mentionable values of all the billon of the Khaljis but he did not do it in case of the *jitals* of the Turki Sultans. Regarding the latter coins he simply mentioned their silver contents as well as their metal prices in terms of *rupaya* (or silver *tankah*). But now after the discovery of *Dravya Pariksha* it is easier for us to fix the denominational values of all these coins in the light of the Khalji coinage; and I have done this in those cases where the silver contents are available either from the statement of Thakkur Pheru or from their assay by Smith.

As such we may now say that Habibullah was not correct in his assumption that Iltutmish devalued his *jitals* in terms of earlier coins. It is only that he issued coins of a lower denomination than those were issued

earlier. His billon coins are found to be of two different shades. One contained 2.8 grains (0.18 grammes) in a coin and the other just the double i.e., 5 grains (0.24 grammes). They may be identified as the *Jital Iggani* and *Dugani* respectively. The earlier coin of Muhammad bin Sam had three times of silver in relations to the lower denomination (i.e. *jitals Iggani*) of Iltutmish, so this may well be *jital tigani* coin. In this way the value of the coins of the successors of Iltutmish have been identified in most cases.

Another point is to be mentioned here that our scholars had not been clear about the terms *jital* and *gani* which were used occasionally in the contemporary chronicles. They were actually, synonymous. *Jitals* was an earlier term and *gani* was adopted later. Thomas believed that 64 *jitals* were equal to 1 *tankah* (i.e., silver coin) and H.N. Wright thought it to be 48. But in view of Thakkur Pheru's statement both the scholars were incorrect. A silver *tankah* was equal to 60 *jitals* or *Igganis*. And the divisions of the *tankah* were *Iggani*, *Dugani*, *Tigani*, *chaugani*, *Chhagani*, *Athagani*, *Barahagani*, *Chaubisagani* and *Adatalisagani*. This it is found that the submultiples of the *tankah* are divisible by three numerals viz., 1, 2 and 3. the *Iggani*, *Dugani* and *Tigani* are divisible only by that numeral. *Chaugani* and *Athagani* are divisible 2 only, while *Chahagani*, *Barahagani*, *Chabisgani* and *Adatalisagani* by both 2 and 3.

Besides using the coins as medium of exchange in transactions, the medieval Muslim rulers utilized them also as means of political propagation. Through them the king used to express their vanity and

impress upon the people their greatness as kings. This is very much visible in the legends of the coins of the Sultans of Delhi that have been discussed in the earlier pages.

The most common title that express their status as king is "al-sultan al-muizzam" or "al-sultan al-a'azam" (i.e., the great or the greatest king) This title was common used by each and every Sultan of Delhi whether had this status recognized or not. For instance the pretender Shams uddin Mahmud (1318 A.D.) whose very identity is uncertain, issued some coins with vague name but adopted for himself the title of "Al-Sultan al-'azam" claiming that he was the great king. In fact, these titles were merely the grandiloquent style of expressing their sovereignty.

"Abul mulk" (i.e., the father of the kingdom) is an uncommon title and was used exclusively among the Sultans of Delhi by Mui'iz uddin Muhammad bin San. This title was earlier adopted on the Indian soil by the Gaznavid ruler Khusru Mal. By itself in this title there is nothing pretentious as the king was always considered by the people as their father. He is to take care of his subjects for all kinds of their well-being which is the function of a father.

Most of the rulers called themselves "abu-l muzaffar" and a few of them "abu'l fath". Both these titles proclaimed for their adopters the clam of being victorious. These titles could well have been used by the kings as they were often on the quest of conquest and in many cases they were also victorious. So these titles may not be seriously taken as necessarily denoting anything spectacular.

Apart from these ceremonies titles there were a few boastful titles or epithets that were also adopted by a few Sultans. Among them one was 'Ala uddin Muhammad Khalji who had proclaimed himself "sikandar al-sani" or the second Alexander. Alexander was known for his conquest of vast territories and he marched with his army conquering countries one after the other. But 'Ala uddin had adopted this title as soon as he occupied the throne of Delhi when he had not even one conquest to his credit. Similarly his son 'Umar who was on the throne only for a few months, and whose position was tottering due to opposition of 'Ala uddin, also adopted this title only to follow his father. Qutb uddin Mubarak, his another son, assumed a slightly different title. It is "Iskandar uzzaman" (i.e., Alexander of the time). It indicates that he was not so pretentious as his predecessor were. He just says that he was a great conqueror of his own time. Nevertheless this was also a boastful title or a tall claim at the time of his very accession to the throne while he achieved nothing of this kind.

Mention may also be made of a title "al-qutbi" (i.e., belonging to Qutb uddin) which was used on the Bengal and Kuraman coins of Iltutmish. It shows the relation of the king with Qutb uddin Aibak. This title seems to have a historical background. After the death of Qutb uddin Aibak his son Aram Shah had ascended the throne. But due to his inefficiency the nobles of Delhi invited Iltutmish to occupy it and Iltutmish accepted the invitation gladly. But his claim to the throne was weak. So it was likely that to proclaim himself right over the Delhi throne he might have

adopted this title (i.e., al-Qutbi) to who his close relationship with Qutbuddin Airbak as being his son-in-law, freed slave and member of the Qutbi faction of the amirs as against the Mu'izis.

Besides serving in economy and political needs, the coins also focus the religious beliefs of the king who issued from them and it is too an important information to us.

According to Islamic traditions also Muslim rulers outside Arabia had to acknowledge the allegations of the contemporary Khalifah of Islam ruling over Makka and Madina, and it was prohibited for them to adopt he titles of Khalifah for themselves. Man of the Muslim rulers followed this tradition in name only. They established kingdoms, ruled there independently and in order to legalize their rule in the eye of Islam they used to assume some religious titles expressing their allegiance to the Khalifah. In assuming these titles they did not feel it necessary to obtain prior approval from the Khalifah. Most of the Delhi Sultans had such titles The practice was introduced first by Iltutmish among the Delhi Sultans and later it was followed by others.

Iltutmish's earlier titles of this kind was "burhanu amir al-mu'minin", by which he declared himself as "the testament of the "Commander of the faith' (i.e., 'the Khalifah')". Virtually it means that he was the viceroy ruling on behalf of the Khalifah. A little late he changed this title wish "nasir amir al-mu'minin" i.e., helper of the Khalifah". In this latter title he slightly improved his position. Now he was thinking himself not as subordinate but as his associate (helper). These titles he adopted in 614 and 616 A H ,

much earlier than he received the investiture of the Khalifah in 626 A H. It shows that from the very beginning he was keen to gain the protection from the letter (i.e., Khalifah).

This second title (i.e., *nasir amir al-mu'minin*) was also adopted by his successors Raziyah, Bahram was much later by the Khalji rulers 'Ala uddin Muhamamd and Mubarak Khalji. Its adoption by Raziyah and Bahram was legitimate and justified as their predecessor Iltutmish had received the justification as their predecessor Iltutmish had received the investiture from the Khalifah. But the two Khalji rulers had no such claims. They had adopted it only as customary practice and only for a short period. 'Ala uddin Khalji had another title, it is "*Yamin al-Khalifat*" (i.e., the right hand of the Khalifat) by which he claimed the close association with the Khalifah as his "right hand" and he adhered to this title during the entire period of his reign. His son Mubarak also shared with this claim of his father in the very beginning of his reign in the early part of the year 617 A.H., but within a few months he changed his mind and instead of becoming the viceroy (*nasir*) of the Khalifah he himself proclaimed to be the Khalifah and assumed the title of "*amir al-mu'minin*" also "*al-imam al-'azam*, *Khalifatullah* or *Khalifatu rabbi*" '*alamin*" (i.e., the greater leader and the representative of God). He also called himself "*al-wasiz billah*" implying that he was "the confident in God" and thereby nearer to him.

Mubarak's successor Nasir uddin Khusru called himself "*waliu amir 'al-mu'minin*" i.e., the Deputy of the Khalifah. This epithet may be taken having dual meaning. It may be related to the original Khalifah of Islam as

well as the claimant Khaliyah Mubarak. He also claimed himself "al-wasiq bi-nasir Rahman" following his predecessor but with slight modification that he was "the confident in the help of God."

Besides serving as the medium of exchange and mean of political and religious propagation the coin also serve as a source of information for history. It is an additional benefit of which the issuing kings were not aware at all and for which the coins were not actually issued. This source of information is much more reliable than any other sources.

Its importance in case of ancient history of India is well recognized. But it has not been taken seriously for the history of Muslim rule in India as the written documents in the form of chronicles, farmans, ruq'at etc. of this period are found in abundance, yet there are many obscure corners of history where these documentary sources fail to shade any proper light. And it is here that the coins may usefully be utilized. In the period under review the coins throw some new lights to which no attention was paid so far.

- To begin with, it is the general impression that Muhamamd bin Sam's *Laqab* was "Shahib uddin". It is hardly realized that he had also the *laqab* of "Mu'iz uddin". The fact is that he was never known by the title of "Shahab uddin" in the context of Indian history. Much before his entry into India his brother bestowed upon him this later *laqab* (i.e., Mu'iz uddin) replacing the previous one (i.e., Shihab uddin). Since then this only *laqab* was associated with him till his death in 1206

A.D. This fact has a great bearing on the history which is not realized so far.

- Muhammad bin Sam entered into India as the governor of Ghazani under his brother Ghiyas uddin and as such when he entered into Peshwar he was considering himself a the subordinate to his brother. This fact is borne out from a new coins issued from that place which bear the name Ghiyas uddin Muhammad bin Sam. To these coins no attention was paid earlier and no chronicle mentioned this fact in his work
- It is generally believed that the coins bearing the name "Muhammad bin Sam" were issued by Mu'iz uddin in his own right. This may be true but as long as his brother Ghiyas uddin was alive he used the name Muhammad bin Sam on the coins without he *laqab* "Muiz uddin". The name Muhammad bin Sam without he distinction of the *laqab* was applicable equally to Ghiyas uddin as well as Mu'iz uddin, as the proper name of both the brothers was "Muhammad bin Sam". By using this camouflage name he tried to avoid any clash with his bother though virtually he was the master. This tactful device adopted by Mu'iz uddin was not realized earlier by the historians. If al the Ghurid Indian coins minutely scrutinized it will be noticed that only after the death of Ghiyas uddin the *laqab* Mu'iz uddin long with name Muhamamd bin Sam was used. Thus it is clear that so long

his brother was alive, Mu'iz uddin was subordinate to him and did not dare assert his independence.

- The coins bearing the name of Muhammad bin Samon, one side and Sri Prithvirajadeva on the other, were a matter of controversy for quite some times and they were considered to be mules by some scholars. But as it has been discussed earlier these coins were undoubtedly joint-issues, struck by Prithviraja as he subordinate to Muhammad bin Sam. This makes it certain that Prithviraja was not killed at the battle of Tarain as most of the historians believe, and at the same time it corroborates the statement of Hasan Nizami and Prabandha Chintamani.
- Conflicting opinions were being expressed about the date of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar's conquest of Gauda (Bengal) A.D. 1194, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1202, 1203 and 1204 were the dates suggested by different scholars for this event as discussed earlier elaborately. It is only the coins that have set at rest this long drawn controversy and produced a precise date (Ramzan 610 AH/May 1205 A.D.) for his conquest of Gauda (Bengal). While bringing these unknown facts to the notice of the scholars the discovery of the coins, commemorating the conquest of Bengal, corroborates the statement of Minhaj that Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji had issued coins, but so far it was being disbelieved as coins

were not available then. While in this case the coins confirms Minhaj at the same time the absence of the coins of Qutb uddin aibak falsify his statement that Qutb uddin had issued coins.

- It was believed so that 'Iwaz from the very beginning was an independent ruler of Bengal and was not a vassal of the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish. But the discovery of the coins of Muhammad bin Bakhityar Khalji commemorating the conquest of Bengal leads to the modification of this opinion. This coins has the same horseman motif which we see on certain gold and silver coins of Iltutmish but the mint name on them so far have been read variously. Now it is confirmed that the reading "bi-Guada" is the correct one and that these coins were issued from Bengal during 614 and 616 A.H. when 'Iwaz was governor there. These coins, therefore, prove that 'Iwaz had accepted the subordination of the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish in the early part of his reign.
- Coming the period of Raziyah we have evidenced that her coins were issued from Lakhnauti (Bengal) which had been stopped during her predecessor Rukh uddin Firuz. These Bengal coins of Raziyah, confirms Minhaj's statement that she brought all the territories from Lakhnauti (Bengal) to Debal under her control.

- Lastly we know only from the coins that an attempt was made by one Shams uddin Muhmud to assert himself as the Sultan of Delhi in 1318 A.D. when Mubarak Khalji was away to Deogir. No mention of this event is recorded by any chroniclers.
- A rare coin issued by Bengal ruler Nasiruddin Ibrahim, which also bears the name of the ghiyasuddin Tughluq. The title used for Tughlaq ruler such as al sultan al-azam ghiyath al-duniya wal din abul muzaffar tughluq shah al sultan. In the light of above evidence we can safely reach to the conclusion that probably above mentioned Bengal ruler accepted the suzerainty of this first Tughlaq king. Unfortunately this had not been documented in any contemporary sources.
- The use of legend, which is available to us on the token currency of Mohammad bin Tughluq gives us idea that he tried to, convinced the Muslim masses especially on religion ground. These coins bear the legend like muhr shud tanka rajdar ruzgar i-banda-i-midwar Muhammad Tughluq (mined tanka currency during the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who hops for devine favour and other side man ata al rahman faquad ata al rahman (he obeys the sultan obeys the God and obeys the prohet). It seems probably to exploit the religion sentiments to make people accepts these bronze coins on the value of silver coins.

- Contemporary of Muhamamd Bin Tughluq, Ziauddin Barani wrote in his Tarikh-i-Feruzshahi that above-mentioned rulers were the man behind the killing of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Probably this rumours or fact was in the air and through the coins Muhammad bin Tughluq cleared his position and used the legend shaheed (martyr) and anara allah buhanher (may Allah illumine his proof) for his father Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.
- After AD 1389, Firuz Shah Zafar became sultan of Delhi after Tughluq shah for few months, but surprisingly enough his name is not included in the last Tughluq's Sultans in sources of period concerned like Tarikh-i-Mubarak shahi. But the coins issued by him, date and name appeared on it, we came to know about him.
- Khizr khan who established the Saiyyad dynasty in AD 1414, never issued any coins in his name as it was done by most of the earlier rulers and unlike them not assumed even the royal title. This fact is only known to us through his coins. Even his son Mubarak shah became king in AH 824 too followed the policy of his father in his first eight years of reign till AH 837. This fact too is not borned out not by the literature but by the coins he issued.
- The two copper coins having legend in devnagri issued by Kangra surler Prayaga Chandra and Ram Chandra issued with Ibrahim Shah Lodi titles and their names suggests that

they probably accepted the suzerainty of this Lodi sultan. Unfortunately, this fact is nowhere reported in any contemporary sources of the period concerned.

India, right from the beginning famous for the cultural and material importance. To know it clearly, government of India tried to built several museums in different corners of the country and sometimes charge some nominal free to visit inside the museums. Now a day as we know tourism is one of the major sources of income for the government particularly those who coming from different parts of the world. In my chapter VIII, I have try to know a new thing about which nothing has been written earlier, i.e , how coins attracts the foreign visitors to see the museum, especially coin section? I hope this dimension will certainly open a new debate among the researchers who are interested in numismatics and musicology.

These are a few information that the coins have added to the history of the Sultanate of Delhi.

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Appendix - A

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

Scheme of Transliteration from Arabic / Persian to English

ا	a	ظ	z
ب	b	ع	'
پ	p	غ	gh
ت	t	ف	f
ث	s	ق	q
ج	j	ك	k
چ	ch	گ	g
ح	h	ل	l
خ	kh	م	m
د	d	ن	n
ذ	z	و	h
ر	r	و	w or u
ز	z	ی	or y
س	s	اَ	a ā
ش	sh	اِ	i ī
ص	s	اُ	u ū, o
ض	z or d	اِی	ai, e
ط	t	اُی	au

Appendix – B

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF THE YEARS OF THE HIJRA AND OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

From A.H. 589 to 964 A.H.

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
589	1193, January 7	609	1212, June 3
590	1193, December 27	610	1213, May 23
591	1194, December 16	611	1214, May 13
592	1195, December 6	612	1215, May 2
593	1196, November 24	613	1216, April 20
594	1197, November 13	614	1217, April 10
595	1198, November 3	615	1218, March 30
596	1199, October 23	616	1219, March 19
597	1200, October 12	617	1220, March 8
598	1201, October 1	618	1221, February 25
599	1202, September 20	619	1222, February 15
600	1203, September 10	620	1223, February 4
601	1204, August 29	621	1224, January 24
602	1205, August 18	622	1225, January 13
603	1206, August 9	623	1226, January 2
604	1207, July 28	624	1226, December 22
605	1208, July 16	625	1227, December 12
606	1209, July 6	626	1228, November 30
607	1210, June 25	627	1229, November 20
608	1211, June 15	628	1230, November 9

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
629	1231, October	29	653	1255, February	10
630	1232, October	18	654	1256, January	30
631	1233, October	7	655	1257, January	19
632	1234, September	26	656	1258, January	8
633	1235, September	16	657	1258, December	29
634	1236, September	4	658	1259, December	18
635	1237, August	24	659	1260, December	6
636	1238, August	14	660	1261, November	26
637	1239, August	3	661	1262, November	15
638	1240, August	23	662	1263, November	4
639	1241, July	12	663	1264, October	24
640	1242, July	1	664	1265, October	13
641	1243, June	21	665	1266, October	2
642	1244, June	9	666	1267, September	22
643	1245, May	29	667	1268, September	10
644	1246, May	19	668	1269, August	31
645	1247, May	8	669	1270, August	20
646	1248, May	26	670	1271, August	9
647	1249, April	16	671	1272, July	29
648	1250, April	5	672	1273, July	18
649	1251, March	26	673	1274, July	7
650	1252, March	14	674	1275, June	27
651	1253, March	3	675	1276, June	15
652	1254, February	21	676	1277, June	4

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
677	1278, May	25	701	1301, September	6
678	1279, May	14	702	1302, August	26
679	1280, May	3	703	1303, August	15
680	1281, April	22	704	1304, August	4
681	1282, April	11	705	1305, July	24
682	1283, April	1	706	1306, July	13
683	1284, March	20	707	1307, July	3
684	1285, March	9	708	1308, June	21
685	1286, February	27	709	1309, June	11
686	1287, February	16	710	1310, May	31
687	1288, February	6	711	1311, May	20
688	1289, February	25	712	1312, May	9
689	1290, January	14	713	1313, April	28
690	1291, January	4	714	1314, April	17
691	1291, December	24	715	1315, April	7
692	1292, December	12	716	1316, March	26
693	1293, December	2	717	1317, March	16
694	1294, November	21	718	1318, March	5
695	1295, November	10	719	1319, February	22
696	1296, October	30	720	1320, February	12
697	1297, October	19	721	1321, January	31
698	1298, October	9	722	1322, January	20
699	1299, September	28	723	1323, January	10
700	1300, September	16	724	1323, December	30

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
725	1324, December	18	749	1348, April	1
726	1325, December	8	750	1349, March	22
727	1326, November	27	751	1350, March	11
728	1327, November	17	752	1351, February	28
729	1328, November	5	753	1352, February	18
730	1329, October	25	754	1353, February	6
731	1330, October	15	755	1354, January	26
732	1331, October	4	756	1355, January	16
733	1332, September	22	757	1356, January	5
734	1333, September	12	758	1356, December	25
35	1334, September	1	759	1357, December	14
736	1335, August	21	760	1358, December	3
737	1336, August	30	761	1359, November	23
738	1337, July	20	762	1360, November	11
739	1338, July	27	763	1361, October	23
740	1339, July	17	764	1362, October	21
741	1340, June	6	765	1363, October	10
742	1341, June	17	766	1364, September	28
743	1342, May	6	767	1365, September	18
744	1343, May	26	768	1366, September	7
745	1344, May	15	769	1367, August	28
746	1345, May	4	770	1368, August	16
747	1346, April	24	771	1369, August	5
748	1347, April	13	772	1370, July	26

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
773	1371, July 15	797	1394, October 27
774	1372, July 2	798	1395, October 16
775	1373, June 23	799	1396, October 5
776	1374, June 12	800	1397, September 24
777	1375, June 2	801	1398, September 13
778	1376, May 21	802	1399, September 3
779	1377, May 10	803	1400, August 22
780	1378, April 30	804	1401, August 11
781	1379, April 19	805	1402, August 1
782	1380, April 7	806	1403, July 21
783	1381, March 28	807	1404, July 10
784	1382, March 17	808	1405, June 29
784	1383, March 6	809	1406, June 18
786	1384, February 24	810	1407, June 8
787	1385, February 12	811	1408, May 27
788	1386, January 2	812	1409, May 16
789	1387, January 22	813	1410, May 6
790	1388, January 11	814	1411, April 25
791	1388, December 31	815	1412, April 13
792	1389, December 20	816	1413, April 3
793	1390, December 9	817	1414, March 23
794	1391, November 29	818	1415, March 13
795	1392, November 17	819	1416, March 1
796	1393, November 6	820	1417, February 18

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
821	1418, February	8	845	1441, May	22
822	1419, January	28	846	1442, May	12
823	1420, January	17	847	1443, April	1
824	1421, December	6	848	1444, April	20
825	1421, December	26	849	1445, April	9
826	1422, December	15	850	1446, March	29
827	1423, December	5	851	1447, March	19
828	1424, November	23	852	1448, March	7
829	1425, November	13	853	1449, February	24
830	1426, November	2	854	1450, February	14
831	1427, October	22	855	1451, February	3
832	1428, October	11	856	1452, January	23
833	1429, September	30	857	1453, January	12
834	1430, September	19	858	1454, January	1
835	1431, August	9	859	1454, December	22
836	1432, August	28	860	1455, December	11
837	1433, August	18	861	1456, November	29
838	1434, August	7	862	1457, November	19
839	1435, July	27	863	1458, November	8
840	1436, July	16	864	1459, October	28
841	1437, July	5	865	1460, October	17
842	1438, June	24	866	1461, October	6
843	1439, June	14	867	1462, September	26
844	1440, June	2	868	1463, September	15

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
869	1464, September 3	893	1487, December 17
870	1465, August 24	984	1488, December 5
871	1466, August 13	895	1489, November 25
872	1467, August 2	896	1490, November 14
873	1468, July 22	897	1491, November 4
874	1469, July 11	898	1492, October 23
875	1470, June 30	899	1493, October 12
876	1471, June 20	900	1494, October 2
877	1472, June 8	901	1495, September 21
878	1473, May 29	902	1496, September 9
879	1474, May 18	903	1497, August 30
880	1475, May 7	904	1498, August 19
881	1476, April 26	905	1499, August 8
882	1477, April 15	906	1500, July 28
883	1478, April 4	907	1501, July 17
884	1479, March 25	908	1502, July 7
885	1480, March 13	909	1503, June 26
886	1481, March 2	910	1504, June 14
887	1482, February 20	911	1505, June 4
888	1483, February 9	912	1506, May 24
889	1484, January 30	913	1507, May 13
890	1485, January 18	914	1508, May 2
891	1486, January 7	915	1509, April 21
892	1486, December 28	916	1510, April 10

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
917	1511, March	31	941	1534, July	13
918	1512, March	19	942	1535, July	2
919	1513, March	9	943	1536, June	20
920	1514, February	26	944	1537, June	10
921	1515, February	15	945	1538, May	30
922	1516, February	5	946	1539, May	19
923	1517, January	24	947	1540, May	8
924	1518, January	13	948	1541, April	27
925	1519, January	3	949	1542, April	17
926	1519, December	23	950	1543, April	6
927	1520, December	12	951	1544, March	25
928	1521, December	1	952	1545, March	15
929	1522, November	20	953	1546, March	4
930	1523, November	10	954	1547, February	21
931	1524, October	29	955	1548, February	11
932	1525, October	18	956	1549, January	30
933	1526, October	8	957	1550, January	20
934	1527, September	27	958	1551, January	9
935	1528, September	15	959	1551, December	29
936	1529, September	5	960	1552, December	18
937	1530, August	25	961	1553, December	7
938	1531, August	15	962	1554, November	26
939	1532, August	3	963	1555, November	16
940	1533, July	23	964	1556, November	4

Appendix – C

Typological Classification

Types	Rulers	Metal
Billon ull / Horseman	Muhammad Billon in Sam Iltutmish Ruknuddin Firuz Shah Muizuddin Billon ahram Shah Alauddin Masud Shah Aladdin Musud Shah	Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon
Legend / Horseman	Muhammad Billon in Sam Iltutmish Ruknuddin Firuz Shah Razia Muizuddin Billon ahram Shah Alauddin Musud Shah Nasiruddin Muhmud	Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon
Billon i-lingual type with Arabic and Devnagri legend	Iltutmish Billon Alban (A New Type Was Introduced) Kaiqubad Jalaluddin Firuz Alauddin Muhammad Shah Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Muhmmamd bin Tughluq	Billon Billon Billon Billon Billon, Copper Billon Billon
Fi-ahd Al-Mustansir Type	Iltutmish Ruknuddin Tiruz Razia Muizuddin Billon ahram Aluddin Masud Shah	Silver Silver Silver Silver Gold, Silver
Fi-ahd Al-Mustansim Type	Nasiruddin Mumud	Silver
Al-Imam Al-Mustanism Type without Fi-ahd	Billon alban Kaiqubad Kayumars Jalaluddin Firuz	Gold, Silver Gold, Silver Silver Gold, Silver

Appendix – D

MINTS-TOWNS

Ghuarid

Mint Name	Ilutmish	Rukanuddin Firuz	Razia	Muizuddin Billon ahram	Alauddin Masud	Nasirruddin Muhmud	Billon alban	Kaiqubad	Kayumars
Delhi	Silver, Billon ullaion, Copper	Silver	Silver	Silver	Gold, Silver	Silver, Copper	Gold., Silver, Copper	Gold, Silver	Silver
Guad	Gold								
Lakhnauti	Silver	Silver	Silver	Silver, billon, ullaion	Silver	Silver	Silver		
Billon Adaun						Silver			
Alwar							Silver, Copper		
Sultanpur khitta							Silver, Copper		
Fakhrabad							Copper		

Khaljis

Mint Name	Jalaluddin Firuz	Ruknuddin Ibrahim	Alauddin Muhammad	Shahabuddin Umar	Qutubuddin Mubarak	Khusru
Delhi	Gold, Silver	Silver	Gold, Silver	Gold, Silver		Gold, Copper
Darul Islam			Gold, Silver		Gold, Silver	
Deogir			Gold			Silver
Qila Deogir			Silver			
Hazrat Darul Khilafat Delhi					Gold, Silver, Copper	
Qurbabad fort					Gold, Silver	
Hazrat Delhi						
Hazrat Darul Mulk					Silver	
Lakhnauti			Silver, Gold		Silver	

Tughluqb

Mint Name	Ghiyas Tughluq	Muhammad Billon in Tughlaq	Firuz Tughluq	Fatah Shah	Tughluq II	Firuz Shah Zaffar	Abu Billon akr	Muhammad IV	Sikander I	Mahmud II	Nusrat
Delhi	Gold, Silver	Gold, Silver, Bronze	Gold, Silver, Billon, Copper		Gold, Billon, Copper	Gold, Billon,	Gold, Billon,	Billon, Copper	Copper	Gold, Copper	Copper
Darul Islam	Gold, Silver	Gold, Silver, Bronze									
Deogir Fort	Gold, Silver	Gold, Silver									
Mulk Tilang	Gold, Silver	Gold, Silver									
Qutbabad		Gold, Silver									
Mulk Mahar		Gold									
Tughluqpur urf Tirhut		Gold, Billon									
Satgaon		Gold, Silver, Billon									
Sultanpur Darul Mulk		Gold, Billon									
Daulatabad		Gold, Billon									
Sunargaon		Gold, Silver									
Lakhnauti	Gold	Gold, Silver, Billon									
Deogir		Silver									
Delhi Darul Mulk		Billon	Copper		Copper	Copper	Copper	Copper	Copper		Copper
Dhar		Billon, Bronze									
Sahat-i- Sind			Billon								
Iqlimush Sharaq				Gold							
Shahr Patna				Gold							

Sayyids

Mint name	Mubarak Shah	Muhmmad V	Alam Shah
Delhi	Gold, Copper	Billon, Copper	Billon
Delhi Darul Mulk	Copper	Copper	Copper

Lodis

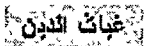



Mint name	Billon ahlul	Sikander II	Ibrahim
Delhi	Billon, Copper	Billon	
Delhi Darul Mulk	Copper		
Jaunpur Shahar	Copper		

Appendix-E
Catalogues of the Coins

Name of the Sultanates	A.H.	A.D.
GHURIS		
(COINS issued in the individual name of Ghiyas uddin Mohammad bin Sam or in their joint names)	589-602	1193-1206
Qutb uddin aibak	662-607	1206-1210
TURKIS		
Shams uddin Iltutmish	607-633	1210-1235
Rukh uddin Firuz	633-634	1235-1236
Jalallat uddin Radiyya	634-637	1236-1240
Muizz uddin Bahram	637-639	1240-1242
Ala uddin Mas'ud Mas'ud	639-644	1242-1246
Nasir uddin Mahmud	644-664	1246-1266
Ghiyath uddin Balban	664-686	1266-1287
Muizz uddin Kaiqubad	686-689	1287-1290
Shams uddin Kayumarth	689	1290
KHALJIS		
Shams al-din Kayumarth	689	1290
Jalal al-din Firuz	689-95	1290-96
Rukh al-Din Ibrahim	695	1296
Ala al-Din Muhammad	695-715	1296-1316
Shihab al-Din Umar	715	1316
Qutb al-Din Mubarak	716-20	1316-20
Shams al-din Mubarak	718	1318
Nasir al-Din Khusru	720	1320
TUGHLUGS		
Ghiya al-din tughluq	720-725	1320-1325
Muhammad bin Tughlaq	725-752	1325-1351
Mahmud bin Muhammad bin Tughluq	752	1351
Firuz Shah	790-791	1387-1388
Firuz Shah zafar	791	1389
Abu Bakr Shah	791-793	1389-1390
Mahmud shah bin Firuz	792-795	1390-1392/3

Name of the Sultanates	A.H.	A.D.
TUGHLUGS		
Sikandar Shan	795	1393
Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad	795-815	1393-1413
Nusrat Shah	797-802	1395-1399
Iqbal Shah	802	1399
Daulat Khan Lodi	815-817	1413-1414
SAYYIDS		
Khidr Khan	817-824	1414-1421
Mubarak Shah	824-837	1421-1434
Muhammad Shah	837-849	1434-1445
Alauddin Alam Shah	849-855	1445-1451
LODIS		
Bahlul Shah Lodi	855-894	1451-1489
Sikandar Shah Lodi	894-923	1485-1517
Ibrahim Shah Lodi	923	1517-1526
Mahmud Shah Lodi	935	1528

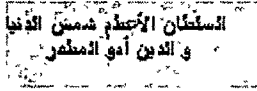
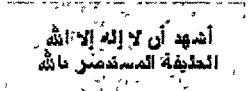
Cat. No.1

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
1.	Ghazna	AH 596-597 AV	Ghiyath al-Din and koranic legend S.A.-1760 	Al-sultan al azam muizzal duniya wa din Muhmmmad Bin sam. Plate No. I 
2.	Ghazna	AH 600-606 AV	Ruler's titles, mint and date in margin R. 7345, NW 1-2 SA 1762	Shahada and Caliph al- Nasir Plate No.I 
3.	Ghazna	AH 596-597 AR	Brother's title and Koranic legend R. 732, D.238 SA 1770	Muzzal-Din's titles, mint and date Plate No. I 




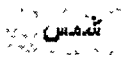


Cat. No.2

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
4.	NC	NC B	Sri Mahamada Same in Nagari R. 717, D.259, NW.35A T.186	Sri Prithvi raja deva in Nagari Plate No. I
5.	NC	NC AV	Figure of Laxmi Wt. 4.3.-4.6 gm. R. 736, NW4, D.252	Ruler's name in Nagari Plate No. I
6.	NC	NC B	Sri Mahamada Sama In Sharda Characters R. 720, D.251, T 184 محمد بن سراج	Sri hamirah in Nagari Plate No. I





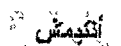

Cat. No.3

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
7.	NC	AH 601 AV	Gauda Vijaye R. 107, NW 3A, D 256	Standard Arabic legend Plate No. I
9.	Dehli	1289- 1290 in Samvat era which correspon d to AH 629 and 630 respective ly B	Suritana sri samasa-dina Wt. 3.5 gm. R.802, NW – 54-67, T. 386, D.311-319.	Sri hamira Plate II
10.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	AH 625 AR	Al-Sultan al azam shams al duniya wal din abul Muzaffar Iltutmish al- Sultan Wt. 11 gm 	Shahda and Caliph al- mustansir billah, Koranic text in margin, Dehli in upper segment. Plate. II 



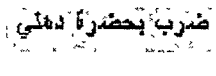
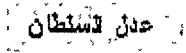
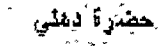


Cat. No.4

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
11.	NA	NA AE	Adl-al-Sultan Wt. 3.8 gm NW-122D, T. 388.1 	Sham al-duniya wal din Plate No. II 
12.	NA	NA AE	Adl Wt. 2.9 gm R. 792, NW. 123 	Shams Plate No. II 
13.	NA	NA AE	Adl Wt. 2.9 gm NW.123C, V.138 	Shams Plate No. II 


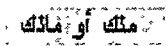


Cat. No.5

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
14.	NA	NA AE	Adl. Wt. 1.3-1.8 gm R.791, NW 129 	Shams Plate No. II 
15.	NA	NA AE	Adl. Wt. 1.9 gm NW. 123 B 	Shams Plate No. II 
16.	NA	NA AE	Iltutmish Wt. 1.5-2.2 gm R.788, NW.124-128. V. 139 	al-Sultan Plate No. II 

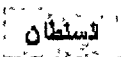
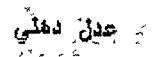
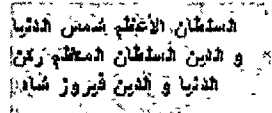
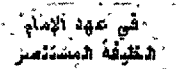
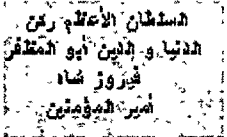

Cat. No.6

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
17.	Budaun?	NA AE	Shams Wt. 0.8 gm R.786, NW.133 	Crude horseman Plate No. III
18.	Dehli	NA	Adl. Sultan al-Muazzam Wt. 4.1-46.9 R 779 NW 134 T374 V.148 	Darb bi-hadrat Delhi Plate No. III 
19.	Hazrat-i-Delhi	NA AE	Adl. Sultan Wt. 1.7 gm R. 778, NW.142, V.143. 	Hazarat-i-Delhi Plate No. III 
20.	NA	NA AE	Adl. Wt. 2.7 gm NW.139 C-D, T.368 	Mamlakat (Kingdom) Plate No. III 

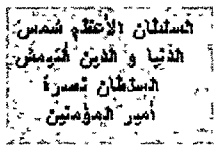
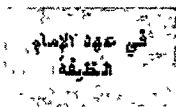
Cat. No.7

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
21.	NA	NA AE	Adl. Wt. 2.8 gm NW. 139B, T 369 V 152 	mulk or malik Plate No. III 
22.	Dehli	NA AE	Adl. Wt. 2.0 gm R.777, T.373 	Dehli Plate No. IIII 

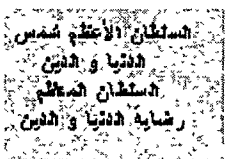


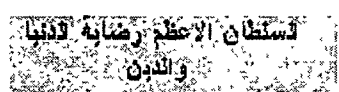
Cat. No.8

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
23.	Dehli	NA AE	al-Sultan wt. 0.9 gm R.775, NW-150-151 	adl. Dehli Plate No. III 
24.	Dehli	AH 633 AR	Al-sultan al azam shams al duniya wal din al sultan al muzzam rukn al dunya wal din Firuz shah Wt. 10.8 gm R.862, NW 153D 	fi-ahd al imam with the name of caliph al- Musfansir Plate No. III 
25.	Dehli	NC AR	Al-sultan al azam rukh al dunya wal din abul muzaffar Firuz shah sultan nasir amir-al- muminin in a single square Wt. 10.8 gn R.864, NW.154 	Shahda and Caliph, Koranic legend in margin Plate No. IV 



Cat. No.9

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
26	Dehli	AH. 633, 644 AR	As above Wt. 10.8 gm R.866, NW 154 A	As above Plate No. IV
27.	Dehli	NA B	Ruler's title in Arabic Wt. 3.5 gm NW.157-158, T.390. D.326	Sri hamirah Plate No. IV
28.	Badaun	NA B.	As above Wt. 3.4 gm R. 859, NW-159-160, T. 391, D. 327.	Crude horseman Plate No. IV
29.	Dehli	Ah. 635 AR	Al sultan al azam shams al dunya wal din Iltutmish al-sultan nasrat amir-al muninin. Wt. 10.8 gm R.876, NW.161 	fi ahad al imam legend and caliph Plate No. IV 




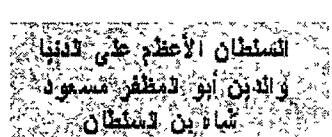
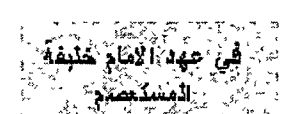
Cat. No.10

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
30.	Dehli	AH 635 AR	Al-Sultan al azam Shams al dunya wal Din al-sultan al Muzzam radiyyat Al dunya wal-din Wt. 10.8 gm R. 877.NW 161 A 	As previous type Plate No. IV 
31.	Dehli	NA B	al-sultan al-muazzam radiyat al-din bint al-sultan Wt. 3.6 gm R.873. NW 162 –163, T.393, D. 329. 	Horseman to right Plate No. IV
32.	Badaun	NA B	Al-sultan al-azam raidyat al-duniya wal din Wt. 3.3-3.6 gm NW-167-169, T.395, D.330 	Crude horseman Plate No. IV.

Cat. No.11

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
33.	Hazrat-I-Dehli	AH 638 AR	Al-Sultan al azam muizzal dunya wal din abul muzaffar bahram sha bin al-sultan in a double square with in a circle and nasir amir al muninin in segments 	Fi-ahad al imam and the name of the caliph Plate No. V 
34.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 638 AR	As above but with nasir amir-al muiminin in segments on both sides Wt. 10.8 gm NW.172 A	As above Plate No. V
35.	Dehli	NA B	Suritan sri muaja din in Nagari Wt. 3.5 gn R.881, NW-173-180, T.399, D.333	Sri hamirah Plate No. IV

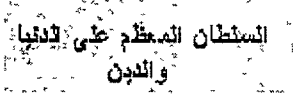
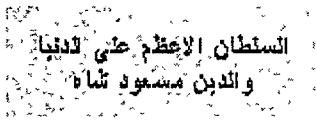
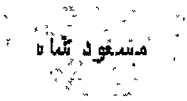
Cat. No.12

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
36.	Dehli	NA B	al-sultan al-azam muizzal-duniya wal-din, dehli above Wt. 3.6 gm R.882, 885-86, t.397, NW.181 A, D.332 	bahrem shah al sultan Plate No. V 
37.	Budaum	NA B	Abul muzaffar bahram Shah bin sultan Wt. 3.6 gm R.887, NW 184-187, T.398, D.334 	Crude horseman Plate No. V
38.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	NC AV	Al-sultan al azam ala al duniya wal din abul muzaffar masud shah ibn al sultan Wt. 10.9 gm R.905, SK.258 	fi-ahad al imam caliph al mustasim Plate No. V 


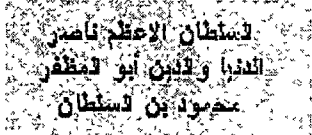

Cat. No.13

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
39.	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 639-641 AR	As above but in bracket and ibn in fourth line Wt. 10.9 gm NW-188	As earlier Plate No. V
40.	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 641, 642, 644	As above but caliph al-mustasim and bin in fourth line of obverse Wt. 11.0 gm R. 899, NW.189	Plate No. V
41.	Dehli	1299 in samvat era (Ah 640) 1300 in Samvat era (Ah 641) B.	Surtana Sri alavadin (or aladin). Wt. 3.5 gmR.894, NW.190-191 T. 404	Sri hamirah Plate No. VI






Cat. No.14

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
42.	Dehli	NA B	Sri alava suritan Wt. 3.5 gm NW.197-120	Sri Shalifa Plate No. VI
43.	Uch?	NA B	al-Sultan al-muzzam ala al dunya wal din Wt. 3.5 gm R. 895, NW 208-210 T.400 	Sri hamirah Pt. VI
44.	Dehli	NA B	Al sultan al azam ala al dunya wal din masud shah Wf. 3.2 gm NW. 214, T. 401, D.335B 	masud shah Plate No. VI 

Cat. No.15

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
45.	Baduan	NA B	al-Sultan al-azam masud shah bin sultan Wt. 3.4 gm NW.215-216, t.403, D.336. 	Crude horseman Plate No. VI
46.	Hazarat-i- Dehli	Ah 657 (659), 658, 661, 662, 663, AV	al-Sultan al-azam nasir al dunya wal din abul muzaffar mahmud bin (oribn) al sultan within double circle. W. 10.9 gm R.925, NW 219. 	Fi-ahd al imam caliph al mustasim with in a double ciricle Plate No. VI 
47.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	Ah.644-45, 647, 649- 50, 652- 664. AR	As above but with in double square Wt. 5.4 gm R. 917, NW.226.	Fi ahd al imam caliph al- mustasim Plate No. VI

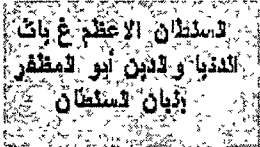

Cat. No.16

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
48.	NA	NA AR	As above but in double square Wt. 5.4 gm R.917, NW.226	Fi ahd al imam Caliph al-mustasim Plate No. VI 
49.	Dehli	NA B	a sultan al/azam nasir ald/unya wal din with in square with chruef sides Wt. 3.4 gm R.911, 913, NW.228, T.405 	Muhmud in Arabic and sri hamira in Devnagari PI VII 
50.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	NA AE	Adl nasiri Wt. 0.9-1 gm R.910, NW.239 	Hazrat-i-Dehli Plate No. VII 

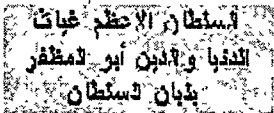



Cat. No.17

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
51.	NA	NA AV	al-Sultan al azam nasir al duniya wal din abul muzaffar mahmud shah bin sultan Wt. 10.8 gm NW-219 A 	fi-ahad al imam caliph al- mustansir billah. Plate No. VII
52.	NA	NA AR	As above GG B.68	As above Plate No. VII
53.	Hazrat- i-Dehli	AH 667- 675, 677- 680, 685 AV	al Sultan al azam ghiyath al duniya wal din abul muzaffar balban al-sultan with in circile Wt. 11gm R. 942. NW 240 	al-imam legend, caliph al- mustasim Plate No. VII







Cat. No.18

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
54.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	Ah 664-675, 678, 684, 685, AR	<p>Al-Sultan al azam ghiyath al duniya wal din abul muzaffar balban al-sultan with in a single square in circle, mint and date in margin. Wt. 10.9 gm NW. 241.</p> 	<p>All imam legend, caliph al mustasim Plate No. VII</p> 
55.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 667, 672-676, 681, 684, AR	<p>As previous type but obverse legend with in double square in circle Wt. 10.8 gm R.935, NW 242</p>	<p>As above Plate No. VII</p>
56.	Khitta Alwar	Ah, 661, 664, AR	<p>As the coins no. 54 Wt. 10.8 gm R. 934, NW 242 A</p>	<p>Similar to no. 54, Plate No. VI</p>

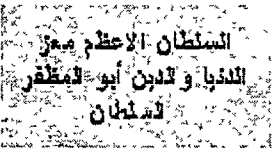


Cat. No.19

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
57	Khitta Sultanpur	AH 679 AR	As earlier type but legends on both sides with in single square in circle Wt. 10.8 gm NW 243	As above Plate No. VIII
58.	Lakhnauti	AH 667 (or 669) 668, 669, 671 AR	al Sultan azam ghiyath al dunya wal din abul muzaffar balban al sultan R. 936, NW 243 A 	al imam legend caliph al-mustasim Plate No. VIII 
59.	NA	NA , AR	al Sultan al azam Wt. 0.9 gm R. 933, NW.243 B 	Ghiyath al dunya wal din. Plate No. VIII 

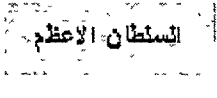



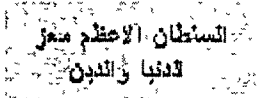

Cat. No.20

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
60.	NA.	NA B	al-sultan al azam ghiyath al dunya wai din Wt. 3.6 gm R. 927, 930, NW 244- 246, T.409	Balban in centre, sri sultan guyasa-din in Nagari in margin. Plate No. VIII
				
61.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	NA AE	al-Sultan al azam Wt. 4.5 gm R. 929, NW-248, T.410.	ghiyath al-dunya wal din Plate No. VIII
				
62.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	NA AE	Adl ghiyathi in hexagon Wt. 1-1.6 gm R. 926, NW 250-254C	bi-hazarat-i-Dehli in circle Plate No. VIII
				





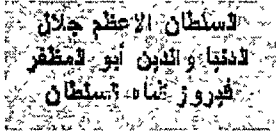

Cat. No.21

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
63.	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH-686-689 AV	al-sultan al-azam muizzal-dunya wal din abul muzaffar Kaiqubad al-Sultan Wt. 10.8-11 gm R.957, NW 257 	al imam legend with caliph al-mustasim Plate No. VIII 
64.	Hazrat-i-Delhi	AH 686.689 AR	As above Wt. 10.8-11 gm R. 954, NW 258	As above Plate No. VIII
65	Hazrat-i-Delhi	AH 686 AR	al-Sultan al azam muizzal-dunya wal din Wt. 3.6 gm R. 952. NW. 261 	Mint and date written out Plate No. IX

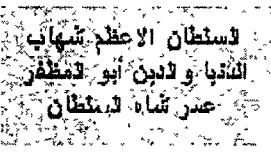

Cat. No.22

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
66.	NA	NA AR	al-Sultan al azam Wt. 1.8 gm R. 951, NW 262 	Muizzal dunya wal din Plate No. IX 
67.	NA	NA AR	al Sultan al azam Wt. 0.9 gm R. 950, NW 262 A 	Muizzal dunya wal din Plate No. IX 
68.	NA	NA B	al Sultan al azam muizzal-duniya wal din Wt. 3.6 gmR. 947-8, NW 263-266 T.411. 	Kaiqubad in Arabic, Sri Sultan muizud-in Nagari Plate No. IX 



Cat. No.23

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
69.	NA	NA AE	al sultan al azam Wt. 4.2 gm R. 946, NW. 267-268, T. 412 	Muizzal dunya wal din Plate No. IX 
70.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	NA AE	Adl muizzi Wt. 1.3-1.9 gm R. 945, NW 271-278. 	bi-hazarat-i-Dehli Plate No. IX 
71.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	AH 693- 695 AV	As above but obverse legend occupies the whole face of win Wt. 10.8-11gm R. 975, NW 281 	As above Plate No. IX 





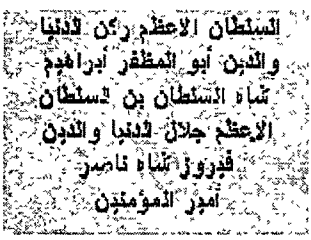
Cat. No.24

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
79.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	AH 695- 699, 701- 702, 704- 706, 708- 715 AV	As above Wt. 10.9-11gm R. 999, NW 305 A	As above Plate No. X
80.	Qila Deogir	AH 714- 715 AV	As previous type but the reverse legend with in double square in circle Wt. 10.8-11gm R.1000 NW 305C	As above Pl XI
81.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	AD 715 AV	Al-Sultan al azam shihab al-dunya waldin abul muzaffar umar shah al sultan Wt. 10.9 gm R.1008, NW 366 A 	Sikandar al-thani Plate No. XI 

Cat. No.25

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
82.	Qila Qutababad	AD 717 AV	al Sultan al azam qutb al dunya wal din muzaffar mubarak shah al-sultan bin al-sultan sikandar al- zaman yamin al khilafat nasir amir al muminin. Wt. 11 gm NW 370 A	al imam alazam khalifa rabb al-alam in qutb al dunya waldin abul muzaffar mubarak shah al sultan ibn at sultan al wathiq billah amir al-muminin Plate No. XI
83.	NA	NA AV	Khalifa rabb al alam in qutb al dunya wal din abul muzaffar Wt. 3.6 gm R. 1044, NW 370B 	Pl XI 
84.	Dar-al-islam (Dehli)	AH 717 AR	As no. 82 Wt. 11 gm R.1032, NW 371 A	As no. 82, Pl XI

Cat. No. 26

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
72.	NA	NA AR	al sultan al azam Wt. 0.9gm R. 9,9 NW. 268A 	Jalal al dunya wal din. Plate No. X 
73.	NA	NA B	al sultan al azam jalal al- dunya wal din Wt. 3.4-3.7 gm R. 963, 966, NW 287- 291, T.414 	Firuz shah in Arabic, Sri Sultan jalaluddin in Nagari Plate No. X 
74.	Hazarat -i-Dehli	AH 695 AR	Al sultan al azam rukh al-dunya wal din abul muzaffar ibrahim shah al sultan bin al sultan al- azam jal-al dunya wal din firuz shah nasir amir al murinin Wt. 10.8 gm R. 982, NW 301 A 	Mints and date in reverse margin Plate No. X

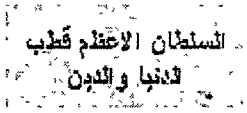
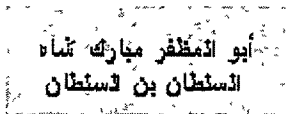
Cat. No.27

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
75.	NA	NA B	al sultan al azam rukh al-dunya wal din Wt. 3.4-3.6 gm R. 978, 980, NW 302- 304, T. 416 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ رُكْنُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْأَمْنِ	Ibrahim shah bin Firuz shah Plate No. X أَبْرَاهِيمُ شَاهُ بِنِ فِرُوزِ شَاهُ
76.	NA	NA B	al Sultan al-azam Wt. 4.1 gm R. 979, NW 304 A السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ	Ibrahim shah bin Firuz shah Plate No. X أَبْرَاهِيمُ شَاهُ بِنِ فِرُوزِ شَاهُ
77.	NA	NA B	Adl. Ibrahim shah Wt. 2.5 gm R. 977, NW 304 B, T. 417 عَدْلُ أِبْرَاهِيمَ شَاهُ	Bin firuz shah Plate No. X بِنِ فِرُوزِ شَاهُ
78.	Dar al- Islam (Dehli)	AH 703- 705, 707, 708, 710- 713, AV	Al-sultan al azam ala al dunya wal din abulmuzaffar Muhammad shah al- Sultan Wt. 11 gm R. 998, NW 305 B. السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ عَلِيُّ الدُّنْيَا وَالْأَمْنِ أَبُو الْأَمَظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ	Sikandar al-Thani legend, with mint and date in the margin Plate No. X

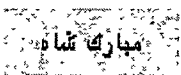

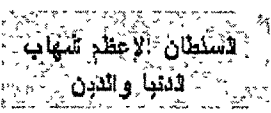


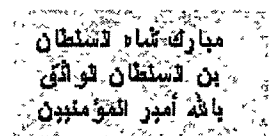
Cat. No.28

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
85.	Hazarat-Dar-al-mulk (Dehli)	AH 717 AR	As above Wt. 11 gm R. 1034 NW 374 .	As above Plate No. XI
86.	Hazarat-Dar-al-Khalifah (Dehli)	AH 717 AR	As above Wt. 11 gm R. 1033, NW 372 .	As above Plate No. XI
87.	Qila Qutababad	AH 717 AR	As above Wt. 10.8 gm R. 1035, NW 374 A .	As above Plate No. XI

Cat. No.29

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
88.	Hazarat-Dar-al-Khalifah	AH 718-720 AR	As above Wt 11 gm R. 1039, NW 373	As above Plate No. XII
89.	Dar-al-Islam (Dehli)	AH 717-718 AR	As above Wt. 10.8 gm R. 1038, NW 371 B	As above Plate No. XII
90.	NA	NA AR	Al sultan al-azam qutb al dunya wal din Wt. 5.5 gm R. 1030 NW 375 	Abul muzaffar mubarak shah al-sultan bin al-sultan Plate No. XII 

Cat. No.30

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
91.	NA	NA AR	Mubarak shah Wt. 1.7 gm R. 1028, NW 375 A 	al Sultan bin al Sultan Plate No. XII 
92.	NA	AH 715- 716 B	al Sultan al azam shihab al dunya wal din Wt. 3.6 gm R. 1005, NW 367, T. 421 	abul muzaffar umar shah al sultan Plate No. XII 
93.	NA	AH 717, 718 B	Khalifa rabb al-alamin qutb al-dunya wal din abul muzaffar Wt. 3.6-3.7 gm R. 1022, NW 388, T. 423 	Mubarak shah al sultan bin al sultan al wathiq billah amir al-muminin Plate No. XII 

Cat. No.31

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
94.	NA	AH 718-702 B	Qutb al dunya wal din (centre) abul muzaffar khalifat allah (around) Wt. 3.5-3.7 gm R. 1023, NW 379-387 T. 422	Mubarak shah al sultan ibn al sultan Plate No. XII
			قُتُبُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ	مُبَارَكُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ أَبْنِ السُّلْطَانِ
95.	NA	AH 718-720 B	al imam al azam qutb al dunya wal din Wt. 3.6-3.7 gm R. 1021, NW 419-415, T. 424	Khilafat allah mubarak shah al sultan ibn al sultan Plate No. XII
			الْإِمَامُ الْأَعْظَمُ قُتُبُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ	خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ مُبَارَكُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ أَبْنِ السُّلْطَانِ
96.	NA	AH 718 B	al sultan al azam sham al dunya wal din Wt. 3.6 gm R. 1049, NW 423 T. 431	abul muzaffar muhamud shah al sultan Plate No. XIII
			السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ	أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ

Cat. No.32

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
97	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 720 AV	al sultan al azam nasir al dunya wal din khusru shah al sultan al wathiq be nasir al rahman wahi amir al muminin Wt. 10.8 gm. R. 1064, NW 424 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ خُصْرُو شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ الْوَثِيقُ بِنَاصِرِ الرَّحْمَنِ وَالْأَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ	Al watiq bi nasir al rahman wah Amir al muninin Plate No. XIII الْوَثِيقُ بِنَاصِرِ الرَّحْمَنِ وَالْأَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
98	Qila Deogir	Ah 720 AR	As earlier Wt. 10.8 gm R. 1063, NW 424 A	As above Plate No. XIII
99.	NA	AH 720 B	al sultan al azam nasiral dunya al dunya wal din abul muzaffar Wt. 5.4 gm R. 1058, NW 424 B. السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ	Khusru shah al sultan wait amir al-muminin. Plate No. XIII خُصْرُو شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ وَالْأَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Cat. No.33

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
100.	NA	NA B	al Sultan al azam nair al dunya wal din Wt. 3.6 gm R 1053, 1057, NW 426-429, T. 434. السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ	Khusru shah (urcle) al sultan wahamir al muninin. خُصْرُو شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ وَالِي أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
101.	NA	AH 720 B	al sultan al azam nasir al dunya wal din Wt. 3.6 gm R. 1055, NW 425, T. 433 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ	abul muzaffar khusru shah al sultan Plate No. XIII أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ خُصْرُو شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ
102.	NA	NA AE	al sultan al azam Wt. 4.5 gm R. 1054 NW. 429A T. 435. السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ	nasir al dunya wal din Plate No. XIII نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ

Cat No.34

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
103	Hazrat-i-Dehli	NA AE	Adl Khusru shah Wt. 1.6 gm R. 1051 NW 429 B عدل خسروي شاه	bi hazarat-i-Dehli Plate No. XII بحضرتة دهلي
104a	Dar-ul-Islam (Dehli)	AH 724, 725 AV	al sultan al ghazi ghiyath al duniya wal din abul muzaffar tughluq shah Al sultan nasir amir al muminin. السلطان الغازي غياث الدني والدين ابو المظفر	mint and date in reverse margin Plate No. XIV
104b	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 720- 725 AV	As above Wt. 11 gm R. 1091, NW 430	As above but mint name Hazarat-i-Delhi Plate No. XIV

Cat. No.35

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
104c	Qila Deogir	AH 721-725 AV	As the previous type Wt. 10.9-11 gm R. 1092, NW 432	As the previous type but mint name Qila deogri Plate No. XIV
105a	Dar-al-Islam (Dehli)	AH 721, 724, 725, AR	As above Wt. 10.8-11 gm R. 1082, NW 440	As above Plate No. XIV
105b	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 720-725 AR	As earlier Wt. 10.8-11 gm R. 1083, NW 434-439	As previous Type Plate No. XIV

Cat. No.36

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
106	NA	NA AE	Tughluq Wt. 3.3-3.5 gm R. 1070, NW 470 T. 439. تغلقى	Shah Plate No. XIV شاه
107	Fakhrabad	NA AE	Adl ghiyathi Wt. 2.3 gm R. 1077 NW 255 A عدال غياث	Bi-fakhrabad بفخر آباد
108a	Mulk-i-mabar?	AH 730 AV	al Sultan al said at shahid al ghazi ghiyath al dunya wal din abul muzaffar tughluq shah al sultan anara allah burhanahu Wt. 16 gm R. 1225, NW 476 B. السليطان السعيد الشاهد لغازي غياث الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر تغلق شاه أنار الله برهاناه	Mint and date in reverse margin Plate No. XV

Cat No.37

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
108b	Balda Qutbabad	AH 730 AV	As above Wt. 11 gm JNSI XVI	As above Plate No. XV
108c	Shahr Tughluqa bad	AH 730 AV	As above Wt. 11gm JNSI XVI	As above Plate No. XV
108d	Hazarat-i- Dehli	AH 727 or 729 AV	al Sultan al ghazi ghiyath al dunya wal din abul muzaffar Wt. 11 gm R. 1194, NW 475	Tughluq shah al sultan nasir amir al munimin Plate No. XV

Cat. No.38

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
109.	Balda qutubpur	AH 725- 727 AR	al Sultan al said al shahid al ghazi ghiyath al duniya wal din abul muzaffar tughluq shah al sultan anara allah burhanahu Wt. 10.8 gm R. 1179, NW 493 السُّلْطَانُ السَّيِّدُ الشَّاهِدُ الغَاثِي غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ تَغْلُوقُ شَاهٍ أَنَارَ اللَّهُ بِرَهْمَانِهِ	Mint and date in reverse margin Plate No XV
109b	mulki-i- Tilang	Ah 725 AR	As above Wt. 10.9 gm R. 1178 NW 494 A	As above Plate No. XV
110	NA	AH 728- 731, 733- 734 B	As above Wt. 3.6 gm R. 1151, NW 507-508	As above Plate No XV

Cat. No.39

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
111	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 727-729 AV	Duriba figaman alabd al raji rahmat allah muhamad bin Tughlaz Wt. 12.8 gm R. 1211, NW 483 ضرب في زمان الجيد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق	Mint and date Plate No. XV
112	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 725-727 AV	Al wathiq bi tayid al rahman Muhammad shah al sultan Wt. 12.8 gm NW 480 الوائق بتأييد الرحمن محمد شاه السلطان	Mint and date Plate No. XVI
113a	Daultabad	AH 742, 744, 745 AV	Fizaman al imam al- mustakfi billah amir al muninin Khallada allah khilafathuhu Wt. 11 gm R. 1217, NW 491 في زمان الامام المستكفي بالله أمير المؤمنين أبو رابي سديمان خلد الله خلافته	Duriba hadha al dinar al khalifath fi al-daulatabas shahur Plate No. XVI ضرب هذا الدينار الخلافة في دولة أياد شاهنشاير

Cat. No.40

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
113b	Dehli	AH 741 AV	As above Khildata instead of Khallada allah Wt. 11 gm NW 491 A	As above but mint name Dehli Plate No. XVI
113c	Dehli	AH 741- 744 AV	As above Khallada allah instead of Khulidat Wt. 11 gm R. 1218, Nw 4918G	As above Plate No. XVI
113d	Dehli	AH 741- 744 AV	As above Wt. 11 gm	Damat sultanatahu Plate No. XVI

Cat. No.41

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
114a	Dar-al-Islam (Dehli)	AH 730-732 AE	Al muhahid fi sabil allah Muhammad bin tughluq shah Wt. 9.2 gm R. 1136, NW 582-584 المجاهد في سبيل الله محمد بن تغلق شاه	Mint and Date Plate No. XVI
114b	Taghtgah Daultabad	AH 730-731 AE	As above Wt. 9.2 gm R. 1137, NW. 585-586	As above Plate No. XVI
114c	Taghtgah Daultabad	Ah 731, 732	Tanka legend, but with panchah gani intead of rajj Wt. 9.1 gm NW 587-588	As above Plate No. XVI

Cat. No.42

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
114d	Gukhtgah Dehli	AH 730- 732	As 114b Wt. 9.2 gm R. 1138, NW 574-577	As above Plate No. XVII
114e	Shahr Dehli	AH 732	As above (The unillsutrated coin listed in NW is worn and weights 8.2 gm. it may be a contemporary forgery	As above Plate No. XVII
115	Dehli	AH 752 AV	Yamin amir al mu minin ghiyath al dunya wal din abul muzaffar mahmud shah bin Muhammad shah bin tughlaq shah al-sultan Wt. 11gm R. 1237 NW 648 بمیں امیر المؤمنین غیاث الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر محمد شاہ بن محمد شاہ بن تغلق شاہ لاسلطان	Mints and date Plate No. XVII

Cat. No.43

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
116	Dehli	AH 753 AR	As above Wt. 10.9 gm R. 1234, NW 648 A	As above Plate No. XVII
117	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 759-764 B	Firuz shah sultani darabat bi hazrat-i-Dehli Wt. 9gm NW 653-656 فیروز شاہ سلطان ضربہ بحضرتہ دہلی	al khalifat amir al muminnin khulidat Khilfatuhu Plate No. XVII الخليفة أمير المؤمنين خلدت خليفته
118	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 765-768 B	As above but the ya of sultani cults the ta lam Wt. 9 gm R. 1264, NW 657-661	As above Plate No. XVII

Cat. No.44

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
119	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 759, 760, 762, 763, 767, B.	firuz shah sultani bi hazrat-i-Dehli Wt. 3.5 gm NW 701 فیروز شاہ سلطان ضریہ بحضور دہلی	Al khalifa amir al muminin khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XVII الخلافة أمير المؤمنين خلدک خلافتہ
120 a	Dar-al-mulk Dehli	NA AE	Firuz shah sultani Wt. 9.1 gm R. 1255, NW 713 A فیروز شاہ لاسطان	dar-al-mulk dehli Plate No. XVII دار الملک دہلی
120 b	Dar-al-mulk Dehli	NA AE	Firug shah sultani with za of firug in the second line. Wt. 4.5 gm NW 714-716	As above Plate No. XVIII

Cat. No.45

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
120 c	Dar-al-mulk Dehli	NA AE	Za of firuz on top line, the ya of sultani the ta, lam only. Wt. 4.5 gm	As above Plate No. XVII
120 d	Dar-al-mulk Dehli	NA AE	As above but the ya of sultani cuts across the top of the whole world. Wt. 4.5 gm R. 1249, NW 717-719	As above Plate No. XVIII
121.	Iqlim-al Sharq (Jaunpur)	AH 761 AV	Fath khan firuz shah jall. Allah jil-lalahu jalalahu. Wt. 10.9 gm R. 1304, NW 745 فدح خان فبروز شاه جن الله جلالة	Figaman al imam amir al mutasid billah Khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XVII في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين ابو الفدح المسكاسد بالله خذت خلافته

Cat. No.46

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
122	NA	NA B	Fath Khan firuz shah jall allah jillalahu jalalahu R. 1293, Nw 757	As above Plate No XVII
123	Dehli	AH 790 B	Sultani firuz Shah Muhamamd shah Wt. 10.7 gm R 1393, NW 805B سُلطان فیروز شاہ محمد شاہ	Narb amir al mu minin Plate No XVII نائب أمير المؤمنين
124	NA	AH 789 B	Sultani firuz Shah Ahmad shah Wt. 9.1 gm R. 1392, NW 812B سُلطان فیروز شاہ احمد شاہ	al Khalifa adballah Khulidat Khilfatuhu Plate No. XVII الخليفة عبد الله خلدات خليفته

Cat. No.47

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
125	NA	NA AE	Firuz shah sultani Wt. 4.4 gm R.1373, NW. 808-811 فیروز شاہ سلطان	Muhammad Shah Sultani Plate No. XVIII محمد شاہ سلطان
126	NC	AH 791 AV	al sultan al azam ghiyath al duniya wal din tughluq shah al sultani Wt. 11 gm R. 1327 NW 761 السلطان الاعظم غیاث الدنیا والدین کفلی شاہ السلطان	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin adl abd allah khulidat Khilafatuhu Plate No. XIX فی زمان الامام امیر المؤمنین ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافتہ
127.	Darul- milk Dehli	NA AE	Taghluq shah sultani Wt. 4.2 gm R. 1312 NW 770 کفلی شاہ سلطان	Dar al mulk dehli Plate No. XIX دار الملک دہلی

Cat No.48

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
128.	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 791 AH	Al sultan al azam firuz shah zafar ibn firuz shah al sultani Wt. 11 gm R. 1344, NW 771 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ فِرْدَوْزُ شَاه ظَافَرُ ابْنِ فِرْدَوْزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin abu adb allah khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XIX فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ خِلَافَتُهُ
129.	NA	AH 791, 792, AV	Al sultan al azam abu bakr shah bin zafar bin firuz shah al sultani Wt. 11 gm R. 1370, NW 780 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ فِرْدَوْزُ شَاه ظَافَرُ ابْنِ فِرْدَوْزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ	Fizaman a imam amir al muminin abi abd allah khulidat Khilfatuhu Plate No. XIX فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ خِلَافَتُهُ
130.	Hazarat-i-Dehli	AH 792- 795 AE	Muhamamd Shah (circle) Sutlani duriba bi hazarat-i- dehli (around) Wt. 8.5-9.1 gm R. 1390, NW 825-828 مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ سُلْطَانِ ضَرْبِ بِحَضْرَةِ دَهْلِي	Naib amiral mumini Plate No. XIX نَائِبُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Cat. No.49

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
131	Darul mulk Dehli	NA AE	Muhamamd Shah Sultan Wt. 4.4 gm R 1385 NW 829 محمد شاه سلطان	dar-al mulk Dehli Plate No XIX دار الملك دهلي
132	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 972-794 AE	Muhammad Shah (circle) Sultan darabat bi hazarat-i-dehli (around) Wt. 3.6 gm R 1379, NW 839-841 محمد شاه سلطان ضرب بحضوره دهلي	Naib amir al numinin Plate No. XIX نائب أمير المؤمنين
133.	Hazarat-i-Dehli	NA AE	Muhamamad shah Wt. 2.2 gm R. 1378, NW 842-844 محمد شاه	bi hazarat-i-Delhi Plate No. XIX بمحضرته دهلي

Cat. No.50

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
134	NA	AH 795 AE	Sikander Shah (circle) mint in margin Wt. 8.8 gm R. 1416, NW 846 أسكندر شاه	Naib amirul muminin Plate No. XX نائب أمير المؤمنين
135	Darul-mulk Dehli	AH 795 AE	Sikander Shah Sultani Wt. 4.4 gm R. 1414, Nw 847-848 أسكندر شاه سلطان	Darul mulk dehli Plate No. XX دار الملک دهلي
136	NA	NA AE	Sikander Wt. 1.2 gm R. 1412, NW.848C أسكندر	Shah Plate No. XX شاه

Cat No.51

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
137 a	Hazrat-i-Dehli	AH 797 AV	al sultan al azam abul muzaffar mah mud shah Muhammad shah firuz shah al-sultani Wt. 11.1 gm R. 1445 NW 848 D السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ فَيْرُزِ بْنِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin Khulidat khilafatuhu (mint and date in margin) Plate No. XX فِي زَمَانِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ خِلَافَتُهُ
137 b	NA	AH 800, 801 AV	As above Wt. 11 gm R. 1446, NW 849	As above but no margin date at bottom Plate No. XX
137 c	NA	AH 800, 815 AV	Al sultan al azam abul muhamid mahmud shah Muhammad shah firuz shah al sultani Wt. 11.2 gm R. 1447, NW 850	As above Plate No. XX

Cat. No.52

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
138 a	NA	AH 795, 796, 801 AR	Al sultan al azam abul muzaffar mahmud shah Muhammad shah firuz shah al-sutlani Wt. 108-11.1 gm R. 1439, NW 850 A السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ فِرُوزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ	As above Plate No. XX
138 b	NA	AH 814, 815, AR	al sultan al-azam abul muhamid muhmud shah muhammad shah firuz shah al sultani Wt. 11.1 gm R. 1440, NW 851	As above Plate No. XX
139	NA	AH 797, 800 AV	Al wathiq bi ta yid al rahmani nusrat shah al sultan khulidat mamlakatahu Wt. 11.1 gm R. 1459, NW 874 الْوَثِيقُ بِتَايِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ نَصْرَةَ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ خُلْدَتِ مَمْلَكَتَهُ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin Khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XXI فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ خِلَافَتُهُ

Cat. No.53

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
140	NA	AH 802 AV	al sultan al azam abul mansur iqbal shah al sultan Wt. 10.4 gm JNSI XVI السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمَنْصُورِ أَقْبَالُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin Khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XXI فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُدَاتُ خِلَافَتِهِ
141	NA	AH 816 B	Firuz shah sultani duribat bi hazarat Dehli Wt. 9 gm NW 687-8 فِرْدَوْزُ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ ضَرْبَةٍ بِحَضْرَةِ دَهْلِي	Al khilifat amir al muminin khulidata khilafatuhu Plate No. XXI لِلْخِلَافَةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُدَاتُ خِلَافَتِهِ
142	NA	AH 816 AR	al sultan al azam abul muhamid mah-muh shah Muhammad shah firuz shah al sultani Wt. 11.1 gm r. 1441 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُحَمَّدِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ فِرْدَوْزُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin Khulidata khilafatuhu Plate No. XXI فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُدَاتُ خِلَافَتِهِ

Cat. No 54

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
143	NA	AH 817, 818, 820, 823, AR	Al sultan al azam abul muhamid Muhammad shah bin firuz shah sultani Wt. 11.2 gm R. 1406, NW 805 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُحَمَّدِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُلْكُشَاهُ فِرُوزُشَاهُ السُّلْطَانُ	Hizaman al imam amir al muminin khulidat Plate No. XXI فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلِدَتْ
144	NA	AH 817, 820 B	Firuz shah al sultani duribat bi hazarat-i-dehli Wt. 9 gm GG D. 651 فِرُوزُشَاهُ سُلْطَانُ ضَرْبَةٍ بِحَضْرَةِ دَهْلِي	Al khalifa amir al muminin khulidat khilafatuhu Plate No. XXI الْخُلَيفَةُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلِدَتْ خِلَافَتُهُ
145	NA	AH 817, 818, 820-823, AE	Firuz shah Wt. 4.2 gm R. 1251, NW 736-737 فِرُوزُشَاهُ	Dar al mulk dehli Plate No. XXI دَارُ الْمُلْكِ دَهْلِي

Cat. No.55

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
146	NA	AH 824-830, 832, 835, AE	Firuz shah Wt. 4.5 gm R. 1252, NW 738-744 فِرُوز شَاه	Dar al mulk dehli Plate No. XXI دار الملك دهلي
147	NA	AH 825 AV	al sultan al azam abul muhamid Muhammad shah bin firuz shah sultani Wt. 11.3 gm R. 1411, NW 804 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُحَمَّدِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ فِرُوزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانُ	Fizaman al-imam amir al muminin khulidat Khilafatahu p. XXII فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ الْخِلَافَتَا هُوَ
148	NA	AH 841, 843-845 AV	al sultan al azam abul muhamid muhammad shah bin farid shah haz rat shah al sultan Wt. 11.4 gm R. 1481, NW 897 السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ أَبُو الْمُحَمَّدِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ فِرُوزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانُ	Fizaman al imam amir al muminin khulidat Khilfatuhu Plate No. XXII فِي زَمَانِ الْإِمَامِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خُلْدَتِ الْخِلَافَتَا هُوَ

Cat No.56

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
149 a	Hazarat-i-dehli	AH 837, 838, 840 AE	Muhamamd Shah (circle), Sultan (around0 Wt. 11 gm R. 1477, NW 905A محمد شاه سلطان	Naib amir ul muminin Plate No.XXII نائب أمير المؤمنين
149 b	Hazarat-i-dehli	AH 839, 840, 844, 846 AE	As above Wt. 8.4 gm NW 905 B	As above Plate No. XXII
149 c	Darul mulk Dehli	AH 837-849 AE	Muhammad Shah Sultan Wt. 5.6 gm NW 906-909	Dar al mulk Dehli Plate No. XXII

Cat. No 57

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
149 d	Darul mulk Dehli	AH 841- 849 AE	Muhammad Shah sultani Wt. 5.5 gm R. 1476, NW 911-916	Dar al mulk dehli Plate No. XXII
150 a	Hazarat-i- dehli	AH 852- 854 AE	alam shah (circle) Hazarat-i-dehli (around) Wt. 8.7 gm R. 1486, NW 921 أَعْلَمُ شَاهِ حَضْرَةِ دَهْلِي	Naib amirul muminin Plate No. XXII نَائِبُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
150 b	Darul mulk Dehli	Ah 850- 854 AE	Alam shah sultan Wt. 4.6 gm R. 1485, NW 922-23	Daral mulk dehli Plate No. XXII

Cat. No.58

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
151	Hazarat-i-dehli	AH 851-854 B	Alam shah sultan bin muhamamd shah bihazarat-i-dehli Wt. 9.2-9.5 gm R. 1489, NW 917-919 أعظم شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه بحضوره دهلي	al Khalifa amir a. muminin khulidat khilfatuhu Plate No. XXIII الخليفة أمير المؤمنين خدايت خلافته
152	Hazarat-i-dehli	AH 856-866, 872, 892 B	Al mutawakkil alal rahman bahlul shah sultan bi hazarat-i-dehli R. 1509, NW 924-937 المعول على الرحمن بهنول شاه سلطان بمحضره دهلي	Zaman amir al muminin Khulidat Khilafatuhu Plate No. XXIII زمان أمير المؤمنين خدايت خلافته
153.	Hazarat-i-dehli	AH 867-879, 882, 887-890 AE	Bahlul shah (circle) sultan (around) Wt. 9.2 gm R. 1505, NW 942-945. بهنول شاه سلطان	Naib amir ul muminin. Plate No. XXIII نائب أمير المؤمنين
154	NA	AH 918 AV	Al mutawakkil alal rahman sikander shah bahlul shah sultan Wt. 11.2 gm R. 1523 المعول على الرحمن أسكندر شاه بهنول شاه سلطان	Fizaman amir al muminin khulidat khilafatuhu. Plate No. XXIII في زمان خليفة المؤمنين خدايت خلافته

Cat. No.59

No.	Mint	Date / Metal	Obverse	Reverse
155	NA	NA AE	Ibrahim title Wt. 2gm GG D 714 T. 79 أبراهيم	Prayag chandra's legend in kangra style Plate No. XXIII
156	NA	NA AE	As above Wt. 2 gm T. 80 GG D 715	As above Plate No. XXIII

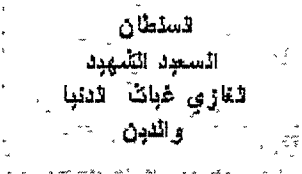
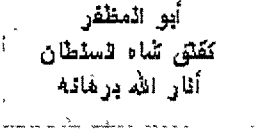
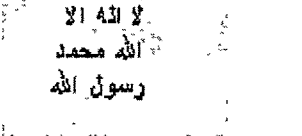
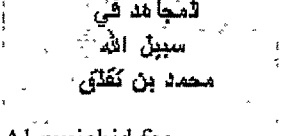
Appendix – F

LEGEND OF THE GOLD AND SILVER COINS OF SULTANS OF DELHI

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
A R	Alau-d-din Masud Shah	<p style="text-align: center;">TURKS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>Fee ahdil-imam al-Mustansir Amir-il-Mumineen</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>As-Sultanul-azam Alaud-dunya-wad-din abul-Mu</p>
A R	Nasir-din- Mahmud I	<p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>Fee ahdil-imam al-Mustansir Amir-il-Mumineen</p> <p>Margin:-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>Zuriba hazihil-Fizzah bihazrat Dehli sanh khams wa khamseena wa sittamiat</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>As-Sultanul-azam Alaud-dunya-wad-din abul-Mu</p>
A V	Ghiyasu-d-din Balban	<p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>Al-Imam al-Mustasim Amir-il-mumineer.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">  </p> <p>As-Sultan-ul-azam Ghiyasu-d-dunya-wad-din abul-Muzaffar Balban as-Sultan</p>

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
		<p>Margin:-</p> <p>ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة دهلي في سنة أربع وسبعين وسكماية</p> <p>Zuriba hazihis-Sikkah (bi- hazarat Dehli) fee sanh arba wa sabain wa sittamiat</p>	
A.R.	Ghiyasu-d-din Balban	Same as on the gold coin.	Same as on the gold coin
A V.	Jalulu-d-din Firuz	<p>KHALJIS</p> <p>الإمام المستعصم أمير المؤمنين</p> <p>Al-Imam al-Mustasim Amiril-mumineen.</p> <p>Margin -</p> <p>ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة دهلي في سنة أربع وكسعين وسكماية</p> <p>Zuriba hazihis-sikkah Bi-hazrat Dehli fee sanh Arba wa tisain wa sittamiat</p>	<p>السلطان الأعظم جلال الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان</p> <p>As-Sultan-ul-azam Jalaud-dunya wad-din Abul-Muzaffar Firuz Shah as-Sultan.</p>
A.R.	Jalalu-d-din Firuz	<p>Same as on the gold coin</p> <p>Margin:-</p> <p>ضرب هذه النقطة بحضرة دهلي في سنة إحدى وكسعين وسكماية</p>	Same as on the gold coin

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
A V. & A R	Alau-din Muhammad Shah	<p>Zuriba hazihil-fizzah bi-hazarat Dehli fee Sanh ihda wa tisain wa sitamiat.</p> <p>السلطان الأعظم علاء الدين و الدين أبو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان</p> <p>As-Sultan-ul-aza Alau-d- duna wad-din abul- Muzaffar Muhamamd Shah as-Sultan.</p>	<p>سکندر الثاني دین خلاق ناصر امیر المؤمنین</p> <p>Sikandaruth-thani Yameenul Khalifath Nasir-u- Amirul-mumineen</p> <p>Margin: ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة دهلي سنة ست و تسعين و ستمائة Zuriba hazhis sikkah bi-hazarat Dehli fee Sanh sitta wa tisain wa sittamiat</p>
A V. & A R.	Ghiyasu-d-din	<p>TUGHLUQS</p> <p>السلطان الغازی غیاث الدین و الدین أبو المظفر</p> <p>As-Sultan-ul-Ghazi Ghiyasu-d-dunya wad-din abul-Muzaffar</p>	<p>تغلق شاه السلطان ناصر امیر المؤمنین</p> <p>Tughluq Shah As-Sultan Nasir-u-Ameeril- mumineer.</p> <p>Margin:- ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة دهلي في سنة ستين و سبعمائة</p>

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
A V	Muhammad bin Tughluq	 <p>AS-Sultan –us-Saeed-ush-Shaheed-ul-Ghazi Ghiyathud-dunya wad-din</p>	<p>Zuriba hazihis-sikkah bi-hazrat Dehli fee sanh ishreena wa sabamiat</p>  <p>Abul-Muzaffar Tughluq Shah as-Sultan Anarallahu burhanahu</p> <p>Margin -</p> <p>ضرب هذه السكة في كفتي اباد سنة 732</p> <p>Zuriba hazhis-sikkah Fee tughluqabad sanh 734.</p>
A.V.	Muhammad bin Tughluq	 <p>La ilaha illallah Muhammad-ur-Rasoolullah</p>	 <p>Al-mujahid fee Sabeelillah Muhammad bin Tughluq.</p>
A V	Muhammad bin Tughluq	<p>Margin:-</p> <p>ضرب هذه السكة بدار الاسلام سنة سبعة مائة</p> <p>Zuriba hazihis-sikkah bi-darul-islam sanh sabamiat</p>	<p>Around -</p> <p>Above: أبو بكر Left: عمر Below: عثمان Right: علي</p>

which are of sufficient touristic interest as to attract a wide range of visitors.

The effort of developing and promoting coinage tourism will succeed only if its administration is properly organized and provides a cohesive and motivated team of staff who devote themselves to the cause of development and progress of these aspects.

Furthermore, the best available professionals and specialized staff on coinage have to be employed, and the tourism authorities will have to re-orientate.

The researcher would like to conclude this chapter by indicating that this research work is a courageous attempt to highlight a new horizon of study and investigate a new prospect in the field of numistics.

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
A.V	Muhammad bin Tughluq	<p>أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وأشهد أن محمد عبده ورسوله</p> <p>Ashadu an la- Ilaha illallahu wa ashadu anna Muhammadan abduhu wa Rasooluh.</p>	<p>الو اذق بكابد الرحمن محمد شاه لاسطان</p> <p>Al-Wathiq bi-taeedır-Rahman Muhmmad shah as-sultan</p> <p>Margin:- ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرة دهلي سنة ست وعشرين وسبعماية</p> <p>Zuriba hazad deenar Bi-hazarat Dehli sanh sitta wa ishreena wa sabamiat</p>
A V.	Muhamamd bin Tughluq	<p>لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله</p> <p>La ilaha illallah Muhammadur Rasoolullah</p> <p>Margin:- هذا الدينار بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعماية</p>	<p>ضرب في زمن الحجج الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن كفتي</p> <p>Fee zamanı Zuriba al-abd-ir-raji rahmati'illah- Muhammad bin Tughluq</p>
Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
		<p>Hazad deenar bi-hazrat Dehli sanh sada wa ishreena wa sabamiat.</p> <p>Margin:- هذا الدينار في قبة الإسلام أعني حضرة ديوكر 727</p> <p>Hazad deenar fee qubbatul- Islam ani hazrat Deogir 727</p>	
A.V.	Muhamamad bin Tughluq	<p>ضرب في زمان الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن</p> <p>Zuriba fee zamanil-abd-ir-raji rahmat' illah</p>	<p>السلطان السعد الشهد كفتي شاه سانية وعشرين وسبعماية</p> <p>As-Sultan-us-saeedu-sh- shaheed tughluq Shah sanh</p>

		Muhammad, bin	thaman Wa ishreena wa sabamiat.
A.V.	Muhammad bin Tughluq	<p>والله الغني وأنكم الفقراء</p> <p>Wallahul- Ghaniu wa antumul-fuqara</p>	<p>في عهد محمد بن كفتي</p> <p>Fee aha'di Muhammad bin Tughluq</p> <p>Margin:- بدار الإسلام سنة كسع وثلاثين وسبعمائة</p> <p>bi-Darul Islam sanh tias wa thalatheena wa sabamiat</p>

Metal	Name of the king	Obverse	Reverse
A.V.	Muhammad bin Tughluq	<p>Struck in the name of the Abbasi Khalifa al-Mustakfi I</p> <p>ضرب هذا الدينار الخليفة في دهلي شهر سنة ثمان واربعين وسبعمائة</p> <p>Zuriba hazad-deenar al-Khalifatee fid-Dehli shahoor sanh ithna wa arbaeen wa- sabamiat</p>	<p>في زمان الامام المستكفي بالله امير المؤمنين ربيع الله سليمان خذ خلافة</p> <p>Fee zamanil-Imam Al-mustakfee billah Ameeril Mumineen abu-rabia Suliman Khalladal-lahhu Khilafata</p>
A.V	Muhammad bin Tughluq	<p>في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين الحاكم بامر الله</p> <p>Fee zamanil Imam Ameeril-Momineen Al-Hakim bi amr(illah)* (*the word Allah is found in the firt lin on reverse).</p>	<p>أبو العباس أحمد خذ ملكه</p> <p>Abul-Abbas Ahmad Khallaba Mulkahu</p>

Appendix – G

Plates

I-XXIII

PLATE I



1 - AV



2 - AV



3 - AR



4 - B



5 - AV



6 - B



7 - AV

INDEX

AV	- Gold
AR	- Silver
AE	- Copper
B	- Billion

PLATE II



9 - B



10 - AR



11 - AE



12 - AE



13 - AE



14 - AE



15 - AE



16 - AE

PLATE III



17 - AE



18 - AE



19 - AE



20 - AE



21 - AV



22 - AE



23 - AE



24 - AR

PLATE IV



25 - AR



26 - AR



27 - B



28 - B



29 - AR



30 - AR



31 - B



32 - B

PLATE V



33 - AR



34 - AR



35 - B



36 - B



37 - B



38 - AV



39 - AR



40 - AR

PLATE VI



41 - B



42 - B



43 - B



44 - B



45 - B



46 - AV



47 - AR



48 - AR

PLATE VII



49 - B



50 - AE



51 - AV



52 - AR



53 - AV



54 - AR



55 - AR



56 - AR

PLATE VIII



57 - AR



58 - AR



59 - AR



60 - B



61 - AE



62 - AE



63 - AV



64 - AR

PLATE IX



65 - AR



66 - AR



67 - AR



68 - B



69 - AE



70 - AE



71A - AV



71B - AV

PLATE X



72 - AR



73 - B



74 - AR



75 - B



76 - B



77 - B



78 - AV



79 - AV

PLATE XI



80 - AV



81 - AV



82 - AV



83 - AV



84 - AR



85 - AR



86 - AR



87 - AR

PLATE XII



88 - AR



89 - AR



90 - AR



91 - AR



92 - B



93 - B



94 - B



95 - B

PLATE XIII



96 - B



97 - AV



98 - AR



99 - B



100 - B



101 - B



102 - AE



103 - AE

PLATE XIV



104A - AV



104B - AV



104C - AV



105A - AR



105B - AR



105C - AR



106 - AE



107 - AE

PLATE XV



108A - AV



108B - AV



108C - AV



108D - AV



109A - AR



109B - AR



110 - B



111 - AV

PLATE XVI



112 - AV



113A - AV



113B - AV



113C - AV



113D - AV



114A - AE



114B - AE



114C - AE

PLATE XVII



114D - AE



114E - AE



115 - AV



116 - AR



117 - B



118 - B



119 - B



120A - AE

PLATE XVIII



120B - AE



120C - AE



120D - AE



121 - AV



122 - B



123 - B



124- B



125 - AE

PLATE XIX



126 - AV



127 - AE



128 - AV



129 - AV



130 - AE



131 - AE



132 - AE



133 - AE

PLATE XX



134 - AE



135 - AE



136 - AE



137A - AV



137B - AV



137C - AV



138A - AR



138B - AR

PLATE XXI



139 - AV



140 - AV



141 - B



142 - AR



143 - AR



144 - B



145 - AE



146 - AE

PLATE XXII



147 - AV



148 - AV



149A - AE



149B - AE



149C - AE



149D - AE



150A - AE



150B - AE

PLATE XXIII



151 - B



152 - B



153 - AE



154 - AV



155 - AE



156 - AE